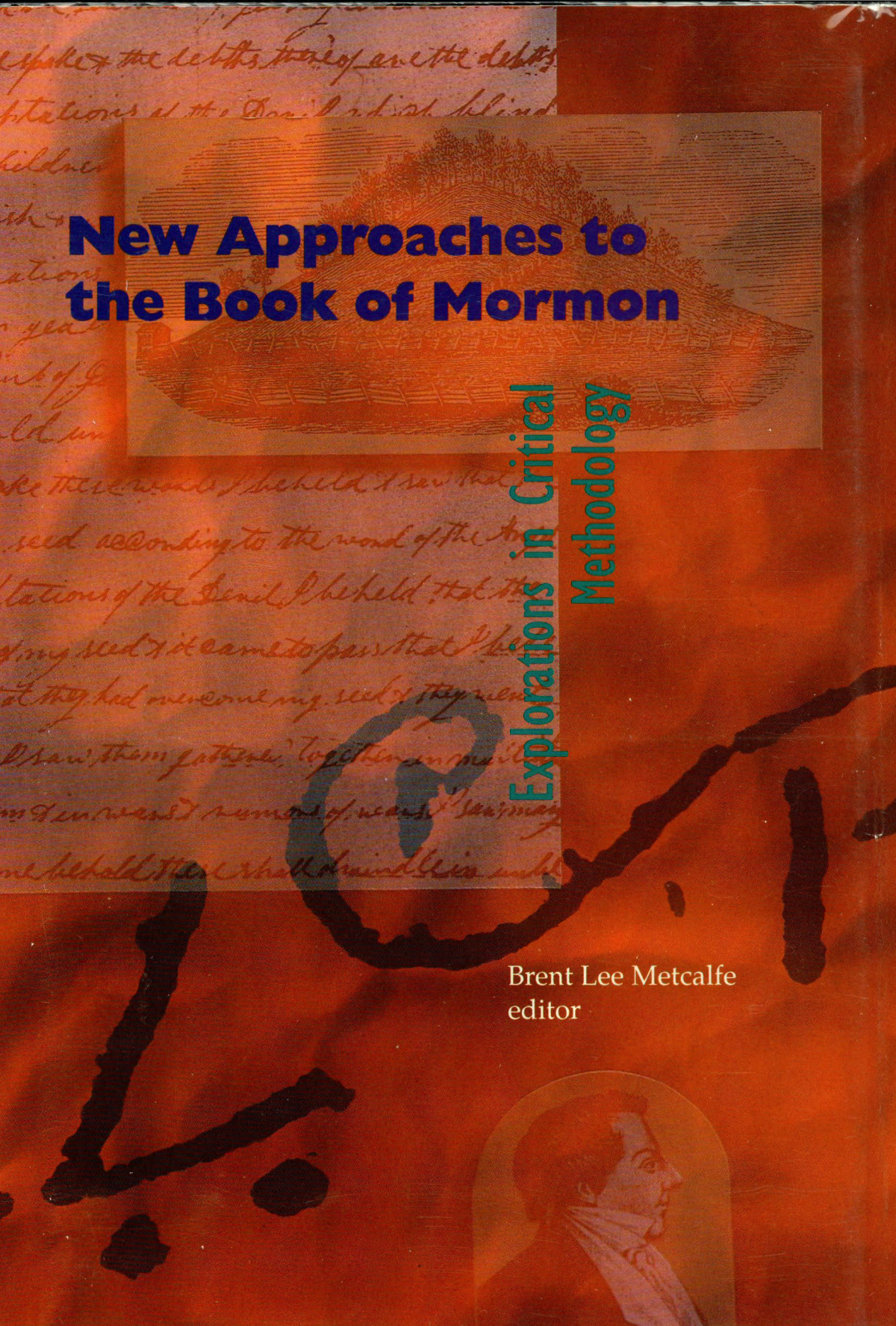
New Approaches to the Book of Mormon

Explorations in Critical Methodology



Brent Lee Metcalfe
editor

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When the Book of Mormon first appeared for sale in early 1830, questions surfaced regarding its claim to be an ancient history of the Americas. *New Approaches to the Book of Mormon: Explorations in Critical Methodology* outlines the broad contours of contemporary scholarship which continue to examine issues of antiquity. Drawing from a variety of disciplines, contributors discuss historicity from the standpoint of physical and cultural anthropology, geography, linguistics, demographics, literary forms, liturgical context, theology, and evolution of the original manuscript to published work.

The message of the Book of Mormon is one of socio-economic equality and divine intervention. That message can sometimes be obscured by polemical use of the book as a prooftext for elitist and institutional agendas over personal religious experience. The Book of Mormon has become an icon that is revered more than understood, according to contributors. Attempts to make the book relevant often gloss over context. Returning to a nineteenth-century understanding of the text restores the book's spiritual rather than symbolic importance.

Among contributors to *New Approaches to the Book of Mormon* are David P. Wright, assistant professor of Hebrew Bible and Near Eastern Studies, Brandeis University; Deanne G. Matheny, former instructor of anthropology and archaeology, Brigham Young University; Stan Larson, senior researcher, Utah Philosophy and Religion Archives, Marriott Library, University of Utah; Edward H. Ashment, former supervisor, scripture translation services, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints; Melodie Moench Charles, MTS graduate, Old Testament, Harvard Divinity School; and Anthony H. Hutchinson, Ph.D. candidate, biblical studies, Catholic University.

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For my friend and partner, Tara,
and our children, Courtney, Michala, Alisha, and Jen

And for my parents, Maureen and Derek,
and my siblings, Becky, Julie, and Wayne

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Preface

And the words which I have written in weakness
will be made strong unto them; for it persuadeth them to do good; ...
—2 NEPHI 33:4

And whatsoever thing persuadeth men to do good is of [Christ]; ...
—ETHER 4:12

According to Joseph Smith, the Book of Mormon is "the most correct of any Book on Earth & the key stone of our religion & a man would get nearer to God by abiding by its precepts than any other Book."[1] Since publication in 1830 it has retained its centrality in the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints and the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints by providing the impetus for millions of conversions and the inspiration for weekly devotional sermons. In addition, growing numbers of religious scholars no longer consider Mormonism's generative text a curiosity unworthy of serious investigation. Interest in the Book of Mormon has already cultivated resourceful studies, and this trend promises to refine perceptions of Mormon scripture as history and theology.

In biblical scholarship "criticism" and its cognates are not used pejoratively but denote rigorous, balanced scrutiny of sacred texts. Critical methodology incorporates textual criticism, historical criticism, redaction criticism, form criticism, structuralism and semiotics, narratology, economic- and gender-oriented readings, and the application of sociology, anthropology, and archaeology.[2] Fresh intellectual and spiritual vistas have been opened by viewing sacred literature from the vantage of these methods. Similarly *New Approaches to the Book of*

1. Wilford Woodruff's Journal, 28 Nov. 1841 (in Kenney 1983-85, 2:139). This journal note is the source for the entry in the *History of the Church* (Smith et al. 1978, 4:461).

2. Introductions to critical methods are available in Armerding 1983; Black and Dockery 1991; Conzelmann and Lindemann 1988; Fee 1983; Hayes and Holladay 1987; Kaiser and Kümmel 1981; Marshall 1977; Soulen 1981; Stuart 1984; and Tuckett 1987. The multi-volume *Guides to Biblical Scholarship* are informative primers: Beardslee 1969; Boers 1979; Doty 1973; Gamble 1985; Habel 1971; Klein 1974; Krentz 1975; Lance 1981; McCarter 1986; Mack 1990; McKnight 1969; Miller 1976; Neusner 1987; Patte 1976; 1990; Perrin 1969; Petersen 1978; Powell 1990; Rast 1972; Robertson 1977; Sanders 1984; and Wilson 1984.

Mormon attempts to expand appreciation of Mormon scripture through critical analysis.

Early twentieth-century LDS apostle John A. Widtsoe recognized that "[i]n the field of modern thought the so-called higher criticism of the Bible ... in the light of our best knowledge of history, languages and literary form, has brought to light many facts not sensed by the ordinary reader of the Scriptures." This led him to conclude: "To Latter-day Saints there can be no objection to the careful and critical study of the scriptures, ancient or modern, provided only that it be an honest study—a search for truth. ... Whether under a special call of God, or impelled by personal desire, there can be no objection to the critical study of the Bible" (1930, 81-82). Specifically referring to the Book of Mormon, LDS official B. H. Roberts concurred in principle: "[T]he Book of Mormon must submit to every test, literary criticism with the rest. Indeed, it must submit to every analysis and examination. It must submit to historical tests, to the tests of archaeological research and also to the higher criticism" (1911, 667).[3]

The application of literary- and historical-critical methods to the Book of Mormon allows for the possibility that it may be something other than literal history. In fact, tolerance for nontraditional views of Mormon scripture and pluralistic expressions of faith are increasingly common. Leonard J. Arrington, former LDS Church Historian, has reflected, "I was never overly concerned with the question of the historicity of the First Vision or of the many reported epiphanies in Mormon, Christian, and Hebrew history. I am prepared to accept them as historical or as metaphorical, as symbolical or as precisely what happened. That they convey religious truth I have never had any doubt" (1985, 37; cf. 1986, 230; 1992, 307). Henry Eyring, a prominent Mormon scientist, was equally unconcerned by the prospect of modern elements in the Book of Mormon: "I've often said that I would be delighted to have someone point out some flaw in the Book of Mormon that proved that Joseph Smith made an error in translating or inserted some idea of his own that wasn't on the plates. ... [T]hat would merely prove that he was human, a fact about which I was already quite sure" (1983, 45).

After probing the Book of Mormon from the perspective of archaeology, Lowell L. Bennion surmised that the volume "is not a textbook in any science, not even an historical account or a theological treatise, but a religious record of three migrations to the Western Hemisphere" (1985, 2). Raymond T. Matheny, Professor of Anthropology at Brigham

3. The obsolete term "higher criticism" is synonymous with "literary criticism," while "lower criticism" is the synonym for "textual criticism."

Young University and noted Mesoamericanist, added that in view of secular archaeological research, the Book of Mormon has "no place in the New World whatsoever" (1984).

Past president of the Utah Psychiatric Association R. Jan Stout observed that the Book of Mormon has deeper meaning in people's lives than a history book could provide: "There is an aphorism that states that a myth is 'something that was never true and always will be!' This, I submit, will be the fate of this fascinating Mormon scripture. It does indeed meet the spiritual, emotional, and psychological needs of a great many people who love and revere its story. They do not want to be challenged with scientific claims that erode authenticity but prefer to live with the certainty that the Book of Mormon provides to their lives. Yet others prefer to pursue their reality and open study wherever it takes them. Each of us must make the choice, but authority and dogma cannot be the ultimate reality test where free thought and open inquiry are allowed to flourish" (1990, 5).

Contributors to *New Approaches to the Book of Mormon* address a variety of methodological, historical, and theological concerns in the belief that readers will come away better for having approached the Book of Mormon from these new perspectives. Mormon scripture deserves more sophisticated scrutiny than has been previously accorded, and readers deserve the results of cutting-edge research without primary reliance on technical jargon or apologetics. Some readers may find the following essays too "secular," while others may find them too "religious." However, those with less partisan objectives will discover an array of new directions for Book of Mormon research. We are not so much interested in convincing readers to think as any of us do, but simply in encouraging them to think for themselves.

The contributors and editor have benefitted from the expertise of many friends and colleagues: Nancy Ashment, Gary J. Bergera, John B. Carlson, Robert Charles, Steven F. Christensen, Margie Dresser-Vogel, Edwin J. Firmage, the First Presidency of the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, Elena Hutchinson, Scott G. Kenney, Tony Kimball, H. Michael Marquardt, Tara Lee Metcalfe, Donald E. Miller, Russell E. Miller, Glenna Nielsen, Elbert Peck, Ron Priddis, Ronald E. Romig, Royal Skousen, George D. Smith, Susan Staker, Chris Thomas, Marcia Vigil, and Dianne Wright. Several institutions have facilitated our research: Archives, History Commission, Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints; Archives, Library, California State University at Long Beach; Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University; LDS Institute of Religion, University of Utah; and the Marriott Library, University of Utah. Although beneficiaries of this welcome aid, the contributors alone are responsible for the strengths or vulnerabilities of their essays.

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CHAPTER 1

The Word of God is Enough: The Book of Mormon as Nineteenth-Century Scripture

Anthony A. Hutchinson

I obtained [the Book of Mormon] and translated [it] into the English language by the gift and power of God. [I] have been preaching it ever since.

—JOSEPH SMITH
(in Faulring 1987, 52)

My thesis is simple. I will state it as directly as possible for the sake of understanding and discussion. Members of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints should confess in faith that the Book of Mormon is the word of God but also abandon claims that it is a historical record of the ancient peoples of the Americas. We should accept that it is a work of scripture inspired by God in the same way that the Bible is inspired, but one that has as its human author Joseph Smith, Jr.

The Book of Mormon should be seen as authoritative scripture, part of a larger canon, reliable in conveying the truth of the restored gospel when read and used in faith and repentance and doctrinally construed in light of all scripture and revelation, past, present, and future. In terms of general interpretation of the book's themes and stories, our overall approach should not be substantially changed by abandoning insistence on the book's ancient origin. What would be changed though is our general use of the book as an apologetic argument or a sign of the uniqueness of Mormonism and warrant of its authority and truthfulness.

Another change would be the way we tend to approach detailed interpretation of the book's text and the meanings its text attempts to convey, since these would be seen as literary and theological products

of nineteenth-century America. It should thus be seen as not containing the real history of the ancient Americas but an account of the origins of the American Indians and their relation to ancient biblical stories as conceived by its nineteenth-century author, Joseph Smith. He remains a prophet called by God to be an instrument in founding a uniquely vital form of Christianity which in crucial ways restores the experience of God enjoyed by the earliest Christians.

God remains author of the Book of Mormon viewed as the word of God, but Joseph Smith, in this construct, would be the book's inspired human author rather than its inspired translator. The term "translator" in describing the prophet Joseph could be retained if it did not imply a language-to-language process of translation but were construed simply to mean "inspired human origin of the English text." Such an understanding is closer to the actual usage of the term when Joseph Smith applied it to himself. It coheres better with the details of the book's production than does the popular image of Joseph Smith as a divinely endowed linguist producing a slavish English text from an ancient text written on plates of gold. (The translation process is outlined in Van Wagoner and Walker 1982 and Lancaster 1962; see also Ashment, in this compilation.)

I have outlined elsewhere what Joseph Smith seemed to understand by the term "inspiration" (1982), and Bruce Lindgren (1986), a member of the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, has also addressed this topic. Stated simply, "inspiration" never seemed to refer to anything as mechanical as flipping a switch or booting up a computer.

There are compelling reasons for undertaking a retooling of LDS usage and understanding of such terms as translation and inspiration. Although a redefinition may appear problematic, I believe that in Sunday-to-Sunday "in the pews" terms it consists merely in a change of emphasis and tone. Some of the reasons for changing emphasis are scholarly and stem from weaknesses in the current LDS understanding of the Book of Mormon. But the most fundamental and pressing reason is religious. I believe that the word of God or the gospel of Jesus Christ is ill-served if not undermined to the degree that current LDS approaches to the Book of Mormon focus on its claims about itself and its value as a sign authenticating LDS religious life rather than on its unique message as a nineteenth-century reworking of the biblical tradition.

I shall address briefly the question of why Latter-day Saints should accept the book as scripture and whether it is possible to hold such a belief without accepting the book's claims to ancient history. I shall then go on to explain some of the reasons I think we should view it as nineteenth-century rather than ancient scripture, whether literally and accu-

rately translated or freely paraphrased and expanded upon by its modern translator. These reasons shall be grouped under two headings: (1) considerations of reasonableness, evidence, and methodology; and (2) considerations of religion and theology. The first of these will take the form of specific criticisms of some of the current scholarly proponents of Book of Mormon antiquity. The second will take the form of personal theological reflections on why we like to use the Book of Mormon as a sign rather than as normative scripture. Finally I shall summarize and discuss some of the broader implications of viewing the Book of Mormon as modern rather than as ancient scripture.

I

[W]herefore, condemn not the things of God, that ye may be found spotless at the judgement-seat of Christ.

—BOOK OF MORMON
Title Page

Why should Latter-day Saints accept the Book of Mormon as the word of God? Within the context of a Bible-literate and generally Bible-believing community, early Latter-day Saints were brought together as a people by publication of the Book of Mormon. Indeed they were called "Mormonites" or "Mormons" before they settled on calling themselves "Latter Day Saints" (*Evening and Morning Star* 2 [May 1834]: 158-59). As Marvin Hill (1989), Peter Crawley (1980), and Dan Vogel (1988) have documented, the early LDS movement drew together diverse Protestant "seekers" searching for a restoration of primitive Christianity, eschewing creeds, hierarchy, and sectarian divisions.

David Whitmer, one of three Book of Mormon witnesses, is one of the few who retained the strident primitivist commitment without imposing on his recounting of founding events the later theological innovations stemming from the introduction of ecclesiastical hierarchy and a system of specialized and peculiaristic beliefs. In Whitmer's account, belief in the prophetic calling of Joseph Smith was secondary and peripheral. Smith's preeminence in the early LDS community stemmed from his role in bringing forth the Book of Mormon rather than his claim to prophetic gifts. It was the Book of Mormon which drew seekers together. It clarified problems of biblical faith and set a clear pattern for a restored New Testament Christianity (Whitmer 1887).

Thus belief in the Book of Mormon and Bible as the word of God has been an essential element of LDS faith from its beginning. To abandon a confession of either book's scriptural status would constitute a profound disjunction or break in the continuity of LDS faith tradition.

If we confess that the hand of God guided or encouraged the founding and subsequent development of the Jewish and Christian religions, then it follows that God's hand was at work in the growth and preservation of the biblical textual tradition which was an organic part of these faiths. Current LDS recognition of the Protestant canon of the Bible as the "word of God, as far as it is translated correctly," tacitly makes this confession, despite a supposed loss of authority in mainstream Christianity in the second century C.E. The canon of course was drawn up much later than that.

Similarly if we confess that LDS people were somehow brought together and preserved by God, then it follows that God's hand somehow was at work in bringing forth the book which gave this group of Christians their separate identity. To abandon such a confession of God's role in bringing forth the book would be to remove oneself from that separate identity.

To be sure, accepting a text as the word of God gives it a value as a guide and norm whereas simply confessing the hand of God in history and holy books—anyone's history and holy books—does not. But confessing the hand of God in history is a precondition for accepting a sacred story or text as normative for oneself and one's community. To the degree we disparage the holiness and value of the Book of Mormon, we alienate ourselves from the LDS tradition and define ourselves as outside of that tradition. On this point I agree with current LDS orthodox approaches to the book and am gratified to see the recent resurgence of emphasis on teaching the Book of Mormon within the church.

Can the Book of Mormon hold value as scripture if it is not an ancient book? Louis Midgley (1990) has critiqued the approach taken in an earlier version of this essay. His basic point—shared by other honest, intelligent, and well-informed LDS scholars—is that the Book of Mormon holds no interest, has no authority, and cannot be trusted to tell the truth about the gospel unless it is "simply true" in its claims about itself, the narrative it contains, and the way it was brought forth. As Midgley writes, "[T]o reduce the Book of Mormon to mere myth weakens, if not destroys, the possibility of it witnessing to the truth of divine things. A fictional Book of Mormon fabricated by Joseph Smith, even when his inventiveness, genius, or inspiration is celebrated, does not witness to Jesus Christ but to human folly" (525). This argument is mirrored by other scholars—both non-Mormons and disenchanted LDS—who agree that the Book of Mormon is nothing if it is not ancient but therefore reject the book entirely because they believe the evidence so thoroughly demonstrates the book's modern origins.

I have problems with these views, which I believe miss the point about what scripture is and how it relates to faith. The Bible suffers

from similar dichotomies of fundamentalists and naturalist-rationalists who both conclude that either the Bible must be correct in all its major claims or must be rejected as a curious artifact of superstitious ancient Near-Eastern and Mediterranean peoples. But it is unclear to me how the Old Testament's great expression of human fear and hope in God or its message of ethical monotheism and social concern or of human liberation are compromised in the least when we recognize that many of its narratives do not tell accurate history or that its view of the natural world is contrary to the facts. Similarly it is unclear to me how the New Testament's expressions of faith in God made flesh in Jesus or hope in salvation through him are disproved when particulars in any of its narratives are questioned. Likewise I am not clear why currently self-styled orthodox defenders of the "simple truth" of the Book of Mormon seem to believe that the book's message is made irrelevant or less than part of a normative canon of scripture when the book is understood as being written by an inspired prophet of the nineteenth century whose beliefs about anthropology, folk magic, and other matters are not only found in the book but inform the book's very self-conception and presentation. The message remains of a God involved in history, of a God revealed to all nations and not simply one, of a Christ whose redeeming work is addressed to all times and places, of the need for humble obedience to God and for social justice.

Beyond the general question of how scripture in its *gestalt* transcends issues of mere historical curiosity, I must repeat what I have said elsewhere concerning the connection between the function of scripture as myth and its historical claims (Hutchinson 1988, 17n3). "Myth," of course, means faith or religious belief, even theology, cast in story or narrative form rather than simply listed propositions. The term does not carry the meaning of "false story" or "superstition." The religious power of myth in scriptural narrative in some ways depends on the historical reality of the events or persons it describes—but only when this historical reality is somehow directly related to the reality the myth seeks to mediate. Thus the "Fall of Man" myth does not appear to depend on a historical Adam for its validity, since we only have to look in a mirror for the best evidence of a fall. The power of a myth about redemption through Christ crucified and resurrected, however, seems to me directly dependent on whether Jesus in fact died and then bodily reappeared to his disciples.

Midgley (1990) criticizes me on this point, noting that a belief in the Book of Mormon as nineteenth-century scripture implies what he clearly views as foolishness—the idea that "the power of the restored gospel is not dependent upon whether angels visited Joseph Smith, or whether certain of Joseph Smith's works have a genuine ancient origin." He chalks up my acceptance of the Book of Mormon as scripture

and my desire to have a genuine religious experience within the LDS Christian community to mere "sentimentality" (544).

I can reply to such a complaint by appealing only to personal experience. I recognize that other people's experience, including Midgley's, may differ from mine. I happen to believe in angels and believe that Joseph Smith was visited by them. But my own experience—the same experience that tells me that such things are possible—tells me that such events are so out of the ordinary that they are easily understood by their recipients in a variety of ways over their lives. Such things as visions and the visitation of angels after all are not uncommon even among today's Latter-day Saints.

Careful historical analysis of the various accounts of Joseph Smith's early visions given by him over his life reveals in fact that he himself understood what happened to him in different ways at different times, depending on his theological belief at that time. Smith does not identify the angel who "revealed" the plates of the Book of Mormon to him with any character of the book's narrative until later in his life, and even then it is unclear whether this was Nephi or Moroni. The identification seems to be part of his redefinition of how one understands "angel" as a term in theological discourse, going from a classic Christian view that an angel is a spiritual creature, a different order from humankind, to the view that an angel is either a pre-mortal or post-mortal spirit, or a resurrected human being. (See D&C 129 for an expression of the full idea from 1843.)

Note that in the 1832 account of his early visions, Smith does not say the angel was a character in the Book of Mormon and specifically says that the appearances of the angel and the nature of the first effort to obtain the gold plates were such that only after the fact was he able to distinguish "vision" from "dream." Smith states simply that "behold an angel of the Lord came and stood before me and it was by night and he called me by name and he said the Lord had forgiven my sins and he revealed unto me that in the Town of Manchester Ontario County N.Y. there was plates of gold upon which there was engravings which was engraven by Maroni & his fathers the servants of the living God in ancient days and deposited by the commandments of God and kept by the power thereof and that I should go and get them and he revealed unto me many things concerning the inhabitants of the earth which since have been revealed in commandments & revelations and it was on the 22d day of Sept. AD 1822 and thus he appeared unto me three times in one night and once the next day and then I immediately went to the place and found where the plates was deposited as the angel of the Lord had commanded me and straightway made three attempts to get them and then being exceedingly frightened I supposed it had been a dreem of Vision but when I considred I knew

that it was not therefore I cried unto the Lord in the agony of my soul why can I not obtain them behold the angel appeared unto me again and said unto me you have not kept the commandments of the Lord which I gave unto you therefore you cannot obtain them for the time is not yet fulfilled ..." (Jessee 1984, 6-7; Faulring 1987, 6-7).

When Smith updated and developed this account in 1835, he similarly did not make the link between a character of the Book of Mormon's narrative and its revealing angel (Joseph Smith Diary, 9 Nov. 1835, in Faulring 1987, 50-55). But that same year when what is now called Doctrine and Covenants (D&C) 27 was re-edited from the 1833 Book of Commandments (chap. XXVIIII) and published as chapter 50 in the 1835 D&C, Moroni was identified as the one who was sent to "reveal the Book of Mormon." Such an identification was also made in 1842 in a letter from Joseph Smith, still extant, now printed as D&C 128:20. But when Smith updated and prepared for publication the early history of his life and visions in 1838, he identified the angel as Nephi (Jessee 1984, 203).

Similarly descriptions of the "plates" given by Smith and his close associates vary enough to suggest that the plates themselves were objects seen in visions, by the eye of faith, having deep symbolic and religious meaning for Smith and his followers. They were in any case not merely archaeological artifacts. We often hear the story of Smith hiding tangible plates in the bean barrel when he went from Manchester, New York, to Harmony, Pennsylvania, in December 1827 to escape the harassment of his former money-digging partners, but we rarely hear the story of how the plates were taken to the Whitmer farm in Fayette, New York, in early June 1829. They were said to have been transported by the angel (*Deseret Evening News*, 16 Nov. 1878). Again their visionary character does not necessarily make them less real or mere "hallucination." But it does mean that experiences are subject to a greater deal of prior cultural and religious conditioning and subsequent reinterpretation than that enjoyed by viewers of "mere" archaeological artifacts.

So ultimately I must rely on what Midgley mocks as "sentimentality" but which I would describe as movements within my heart of the Holy Ghost. I believe the Book of Mormon to be the word of God because I am moved by its story and the story of its author, Joseph Smith the prophet, and the story of people brought together by its coming forth. To be sure, I consider it as only part of a canon in which the New Testament plays a central and controlling role. But I accept the Hebrew Bible and the New Testament as the word of God because they too speak to me, and I hear God's voice in their words. Even if that were not so, they are recognized as such by the community of faith of which I am part.

II

Br. Joseph Smith jr. said that it was not intended to tell the world all the particulars of the coming forth of the book of Mormon, & also said that it was not expedient for him to relate these things &c.

—"FAR WEST RECORD"
(in Cannon and Cook 1983, 23)

The basic problem in approaching claims to ancient origin of the Book of Mormon is one of method. Let us step back from this question for a moment and look at a separate issue where our disinterest might help us make some conclusions about reasonable methodology. *The Autobiography of Malcolm X* presents a theology rooted in a racial ideology and mythos that exalts African blacks and their descendants and characterizes caucasians as "white devils." The founder of the Black Muslims was the Honorable Elijah Muhammad. His "Yacub's History" taught that originally all human beings were black but that the non-black races were the depraved results of an evil eugenics law started 6,600 years ago on the isle of Patmos by a devil incarnate, a "Mr. Yacub," who sought to produce the race of white devils as revenge upon the world (165-66). Believers in this ideology were able to produce what was for them convincing "scientific" and "historical" evidence collaborating this myth. I remember as a high school senior talking with a believer in the myth, who was able to cite genetic, historical, and linguistic data at length to support her belief that I and my family were the products of Mr. Yacub's machinations. I was struck at the time at how similar her arguments were to those made by supporters of an ancient Book of Mormon. Both she and they took evidence wherever they could find it to support their faith, often lifting it out of context that in itself contradicted the use made of it.

Three examples will demonstrate what I am talking about. I deliberately choose these three because the authors are more responsible than most, have used the most care and restraint in their arguments, and generally are the most respected and respectable of the current defenders of Book of Mormon antiquity. I have considerable personal regard for the intelligence, honesty, and erudition of all three. But they all manifest in lesser or greater degree the type of methodological fuzziness that I am talking about here.

The first is Hugh Nibley's *Since Cumorah* (1988), probably the classic modern defense of Book of Mormon antiquity and one which has rarely been rivaled in breadth of scope and detail. But the book uses a comparative methodology that at best can prove nothing and at worst can be used by others to give crackpot ideas a semblance of credibility. A typical example of this is found in Nibley's claims about proper names in the Book of Mormon (168-72). In the space of four pages,

Nibley gives a laundry list of Book of Mormon names that, for him at least, are clear examples of accurately preserved Egyptian, Hebrew, West Semitic, Hittite, and even proto-Indo-European. Typical of his philological zeal is his "just for fun" (172) explanation that the word "Irreantum" is in fact Egyptian proto-Indo-European "Iaru-invt-anjt" and/or Hittite "arunash." Nibley's explanation is a mishmash of Egyptian, proto-Indo-European, and Hittite that is as philologically unlikely as Joseph Smith's explanation that the name "Mormon" was "More Good," a combination of English "More" plus an otherwise unknown Egyptian "Mon 'good'" (*Times and Seasons* 4 [15 May 1843]: 194).

Nibley's method of taking any language in any dialect at any time and trying thereby to claim some kind of meaningful parallel is one with that used by early Dead Sea Scrolls researcher John Allegro in his *The Sacred Mushroom and the Cross: A Study of the Nature and Origins of Christianity within the Fertility Cults of the Ancient Near East* (1970). If you cannot immediately see what is wrong with Nibley's method, you should read Allegro. He "proves" through complicated historical and philological parallels that the story of Jesus dying on the cross and being raised on the third day is merely a coded and disguised version of a fertility myth where a phallic hallucinatory mushroom, having sprouted from the earth and broadcast its spores and euphoria, "dies," and after a short refractory period is able to "live again."

A scholar friend told me that years ago he asked his wife, who has no knowledge of any Semitic language, to take a half an hour and make up for him a list of "biblical-sounding" names. After spending a day of Nibleyesque labor with dictionaries, concordances, and lexica, he was able to state that fully 85 percent of the made-up names could be identified as having the same types of parallels that Nibley claims as evidence to Joseph Smith's insight into things ancient.

In the last few years, I have been a student of Chinese. I have been struck on occasion that using the type of methods and reasoning found in *Since Cumorah*, I could make a strong case that the ancient Chinese themselves were Israelites. In fact I have even encountered this argument, this specious methodology, over the pulpit. The traditional Chinese character for "spirit" (*ling*) is written in such a way, the argument goes, to reveal ancient Chinese knowledge of scripture. Like most Chinese characters, it is written by combining in a set order and arrangement several components that when standing alone are other characters. "Spirit" (*ling*) is made up of the components for "rain," "work," three "mouths," and two "people." Such a combination, the argument went, reflected knowledge of the spiritual and physical creation of two people (man and woman) by God (a trinity), who by working six days made rain fall onto the parched earth. Ingenious as this

argument is and emotionally attractive as it is for some in the church in East Asia, it violates the basic history of the character at issue, the development of which is well attested by various forms of ancient Chinese writing. The three mouths and work component were originally themselves a single component meaning a witch and only relatively later "simplified" into the shape they assumed in the modern form.

I could go on with other examples. That there are perfectly reasonable explanations for so-called parallels that really have no meaning at all is what is important here. The parallel method is defective and should be recognized as such.

My second example is John Sorenson's *An Ancient American Setting for the Book of Mormon* (1985). It is the single best effort at developing an ancient American context in which to understand the Book of Mormon. Its scholarship is vigorous. But to my mind it is wholly wrong-headed because of a basic lack of methodological perspective. Sorenson tries to soften the fact that "a few statements in the Book of Mormon cannot yet be squared with what we know today about the Mesoamerican area" (31) by stating the bottom line of his argument: "the Book of Mormon account actually did take place *some*where. We who believe the book is authentically ancient are confident that there were indeed real places where real Nephis and Almas did the things the volume says they did" (31-32). Because he has taken this stance *a priori*, he fails to see the problems in his efforts at handling the incongruities between the Book of Mormon's picture of ancient American life and the life of ancient Mesoamerica as known from its artifacts and texts.

He explains the basic problem of the Book of Mormon's compass being turned forty-five (or more) degrees from that of Mesoamerica by saying that the Nephites inadvertently turned their sea-oriented cardinal points sideways because the Gulf of Tehuantepec coastline runs east to west whereas the Mediterranean coastline in Palestine runs north to south (36-38). He states that animals unknown in ancient America yet described in the Book of Mormon such as cows, asses, or swine perhaps are simply bad translations for animals such as deer, tapirs, or peccaries (299).

The question arises: when is a cow not a cow, when is north not north? The answer: when you believe in a book which makes claims that do not square with things as they are in the world but which you nevertheless feel forced to harmonize with reality. If it is only by ridding a text of its plain meaning that it can be found to cohere with reality and the only reason you want it to cohere is that you want to believe what it says, you have a problem. How can you believe what it says when the only way of doing that is changing its meaning—in other words, by not believing what it says? Of course if your concep-

tion of scripture expands so as to allow error and even fiction, you can accept its religious value while keeping rational about its claims.

The difficulty goes to the heart of Sorenson's portrayal of the Book of Mormon as a "lineage history" (49-56). The book describes Nephites and Lamanites as ethnicities, with race, religion, culture, language, and politics all playing a role in group identity. But Sorenson prefers to see them as small classes in a much larger sea of humanity. Nephites are basically a small ruling class. This apparently accounts for their not having left any clear trace in the area where they supposedly lived. Unfortunately the pictures of ancient America drawn by the Book of Mormon and Sorenson simply do not match (see Matheny, in this compilation).

Sorenson's "lineage history" theory notwithstanding, I cannot read the Book of Mormon without being impressed that early Mormons understood the plain meaning of the book fairly well. It seems to speak of hemispheric dispersion and the ancestors of what the early Mormons called American Indians. That Sorenson's reading of the book is strained becomes evident when he tries to incorporate Book of Mormon prophecies about the descendants of Lehi (94). He is forced to rely on adoptionist theology nowhere present in order to explain why the book appears to be speaking of the whole group of Amerinds rather than a limited number of people descended from a small ruling class that once held sway in about 250 square miles of Central American jungle.

Further examples of how far his reading is removed from the Book of Mormon itself are these. Since ancient Mesoamericans raised dogs for food, Sorenson suggests that references in the Book of Mormon to flocks should be cross-referenced to dogs—Nephite respect for the Law of Moses notwithstanding (293). Similarly Sorenson draws a parallel between the priests of the Mesoamerican ruling elites, who attempt to maintain their power through divination of the future, and the Book of Mormon figure Korihor, who ridicules efforts at foreseeing the future and the power of priests (102). Such a parallel, if taken seriously, would suggest that Nephite prophecies about the coming of Christ (which Korihor is portrayed as specifically ridiculing) were part and parcel of the astrology and human sacrificial cult of ancient Mesoamerica. It seems that the characterization given Book of Mormon stories of anti-Christs by earliest Mormon indexes are nearer the mark. Nehor and Amlici both appear as Universalists (Underwood 1984, 65; Vogel, in this compilation), and Korihor's theology seems closer to that of nineteenth-century free thinkers than to that of ancient Mesoamericans attacking religious institutions.

My third example of how not to understand the Book of Mormon is Blake Ostler's "The Book of Mormon as a Modern Expansion of an

Ancient Source" (1987). Sorenson handles Book of Mormon difficulties by booking them as mistranslations; Ostler gets around them by classifying them as modern inspired expansions upon an ancient Nephite source. Although sophisticated and specifically aimed at understanding the text as a whole, Ostler fails to see that the sole authority undergirding any claim he might make that some part of the book, however small, is of ancient origin is rooted in the book's claims about itself. This authority evaporates as soon as the book's absolute ancientness is compromised in the least degree. For if the book is not an absolutely trustworthy witness to things ancient—for example, if the book's descriptions of things ancient are contaminated by difficult-if-not-impossible-to-identify expansion—then its claims about its own origins in the ancient world are suspect. Indeed they themselves must be considered in light of the theology of the person making the text expansions: Joseph Smith.

But when this is done, a curious fact emerges and undercuts the expansion hypothesis: the theology of the book, while naive and at times inconsistent, is seen to be of a whole cloth. The claims to ancientness must be swallowed whole or not at all. Why should the book have been miraculously preserved because of its *religious message,* as it claims that it will be, only to be translated in such a way that its religious message is no longer recognizable because of nineteenth-century theological adaptations? Its predictions about its preservation include assurances that its translation would be "by the gift of God" (Title Page).

Furthermore, when Smith's active role in producing the English text of the Book of Mormon is examined, the relationship of the text to that of the King James Version of the Bible (KJV) becomes apparent. KJV words are used, as would be expected when any translator uses a "crutch." But in addition developed textual matters and also theology only existing in the KJV are taken into parallel passages of the Book of Mormon. This is troubling enough, but often the very point of a cited biblical scripture borrowed from an erroneous KJV translation becomes the turning point of a "Nephite" interpretation. In the chronicle-type books such as Mosiah, Alma, and Helaman, many intervening stories of Nephite "history" dovetail nicely with these sermons depending on such obvious KJV mistranslations and nineteenth-century theology. Often these stories turn out to exemplify the very theological points arising in the sermons from the KJV interference. When this is noticed, the Ostler thesis becomes highly questionable, since even the narratives themselves, not merely the rhetorical flourishes for retelling the stories, seem artificially generated from nineteenth-century concerns.

Let me provide two examples that exemplify the fact that when

the Book of Mormon textually parallels the KJV, it relies on its blunders and develops these further. The first example is pointed out by both Sydney Sperry (1952) and John Tvedtnes (1984) as a supposed example of how the Book of Mormon "restores" an ancient form of the biblical text when it diverges from a parallel text in the KJV.

1. Isaiah 9:3//2 Nephi 19:3

New American Bible	**King James Version**	**Book of Mormon**
You have brought them abundant joy and great rejoicing.	Thou hast multiplied the nation and not increased the joy.	Thou hast multiplied the nation and increased the joy.

The KJV is a very literal rendering of the traditional Hebrew text, as it was pronounced and punctuated with vowels in the ninth century C.E. It does not make a lot of sense, either in Hebrew or English. Many ancient versions remedied the problem of the unhappy tone of the last part of the verse by understanding the word "not" (Hebrew, *lo'*) as the prepositional phrase "to him" (Hebrew, *lo*), though this required changing the written text consonants rather than merely pronouncing them differently. Many ancient versions read, "Thou has multiplied the nation and increased *its* joy." The Book of Mormon similarly drops the negative, and this parallel to some of the ancient versions elated LDS biblical scholars, who wrote that the variant in the Book of Mormon was evidence of the book's ancient origins and a sign that its other variant readings were perhaps ancient as well. But it should be noted that the Book of Mormon merely drops the negative and does not add a prepositional phrase or its equivalent. This is puzzling, but not for long.

The first reference, from the *New American Bible*, is based on a reading of the Hebrew verse that has become accepted among biblical scholars during the last twenty-five years, a time marked by an enormous increase in knowledge of ancient Hebrew poetry as a result of the discovery of Ugaritic texts at Ras Shamra. We have now developed lengthy lists of words that are used as pairs in opposite sides of a repetitive parallel line of Northwest Semitic (including Hebrew and Ugaritic) verse. One of these pairs is *gilah/simkhah* or "gladness/joy," just as *rbb/gdl* is "increase/make large." The problem in the verse is early scribal confusion between the words *goy lo'*, "nation not," and *gilah*, "gladness." At an early stage of Hebrew writing, they would have been written on the page in identical or nearly identical fashion; the only difference would have been in pronunciation and could later have been solidified into the consonantal text when it became scribal style to insert certain consonants to indicate the vowel sound needed.

Thus the original verse read literally, "Thou hast increased the gladness, thou hast made large the joy," which fits perfectly into Hebrew poetic style, the meter of the oracle, and Isaiah's high level of poetic mastery. The traditional text was an error, and the ancient versions merely tried to make sense of the error. In light of this, the Book of Mormon variant simply represents an effort on Joseph Smith's part to make sense of the verse in the KJV, since his solution works solely on the level of the English of the verse and bears only superficial similarity to the ancient versions' efforts at solving the same problem on the level of erroneously transcribed Hebrew.

2. Matthew 5:6//3 Nephi 12:6

Revised Standard Version	**King James Version**	**Book of Mormon**
Blessed are those who hunger and thirst for righteousness, for they shall be satisfied.	Blessed are they which do hunger and thirst after righteousness, for they shall be filled.	Blessed are all they who do hunger and thirst after righteousness, for they shall be filled *with the Holy Ghost.*

Krister Stendahl (1978) has pointed out an interesting fact in the clarification "with the Holy Ghost," which also occurs in Smith's revision of the Bible (JSR). The Greek word used in Matthew, *chortadzo,* means to fill one's stomach or satisfy hunger. Thus the RSV translation above. It does not mean generically "to be filled" as a passive of the verb "to fill." But the ambiguous KJV translation here has apparently triggered midrash-like expansion and reflection in the Book of Mormon and JSR. Smith's reflection here is based entirely on the English tradition of the KJV and has nothing to do with, indeed cannot even occur in, the original Greek of the New Testament.

I turn now to religious and theological considerations which tend to contradict Book of Mormon antiquity. It is important to first think of the religious purposes served by maintaining Book of Mormon antiquity. There are several. (1) Since the book presents a God revealed clearly, unambiguously to chosen prophets who not only know God's will but also know the past, the future, and unknown languages as well, accepting the literal historical character of its stories tends to support absolute religious certainty when it comes to revealed religion. (2) Such beliefs also tend to support the authority of those who claim similar status in a believing community. (3) In that the book presents revelation as clear, uncertain, and unmixed, accepting the historicity of

such religion tends to support generally fundamentalist approaches to scripture—inerrancy, literalism, harmonizing apparent differences since God "speak[s] the same words unto one nation like unto another" (2 Ne. 29:8). (4) In that the religion of the book fosters a sense of having special knowledge, it encourages a sense of sectarian advantage. (5) To the extent the book fosters fundamentalist harmonization, it draws a specific picture of the resurrected Jesus and fosters disparagement of conflicting images of Jesus, though these come from the Bible. The fact that the book criticizes the Bible's textual authority simply aggravates this process.

I should point out that all of these religious effects of supporting Book of Mormon antiquity tend against basic Christian values of humility, walking by faith and not by sight, and brotherly kindness. In addition they all detract from the essential message of the gospel—in faith heed the call of Jesus to follow him. Certitude is not faithful; supporting authoritarianism relieves oneself of responsibility for decisions and for heeding the voice of Jesus. Fundamentalism is legalistic in its literalism, and Jesus despised legalism. Fundamentalism encourages harmonization, and this is dishonest when done consciously. All of the basic religious effects of supporting Book of Mormon antiquity are contrary to the gospel. This does not mean that believing in Book of Mormon antiquity is anti-gospel *per se*.

There are two reasons for this. First, God speaks to us in our weakness, in our own language, so that we can understand. On the horizon of nineteenth-century Protestantism, the book and its claims made sense and worked. Quite simply it did not fill the same religious usages then as now. Nor does it when a person of simple faith and unreflective mentality approaches the book as history because he or she has been told it is. At that point the voice of God can indeed be heard through the medium of such belief. But when the mind begins to distinguish and when the basic anti-gospel effects begin to be the main psychological reasons for supporting Book of Mormon antiquity, then such support becomes more and more idolatrous.

Second, idolatry itself means something specific. Let me explain. God at different times and places has allowed or even encouraged some images to be used to represent or symbolize him or Jesus in order to help people focus their thoughts on something beyond, but making (at least metaphorically) *graven* images has been considered a sin. Originally the idea was that God could not be pictured and to do so would only be misleading. But gradually idolatry came to mean setting up the symbol of the image in the place of God which it represented. It is in this sense that persistent and evidence-despising stubborn support of Book of Mormon antiquity can be idolatrous. False certitude, self-satisfaction in one's own sectarian advantage, and

harmonized peaceful scriptures are set up in the stead of working out our salvation before God in real fear and trembling. An accommodated and doctored biblical text is set up in the stead of (rather than beside) the Bible itself. An image of God, an image of Jesus, is set up in the stead of Jesus.

To the degree this happens, and it happens more often than we recognize, the Book of Mormon becomes a stumbling block, a real barrier in our spiritual paths. But it need not be so. By simplifying one's faith, by pulling out the fallen dead limbs and tumbled down rocks, the Book of Mormon can once again become with the Holy Bible a spring of water welling up into eternal life.

III

And again I say unto you, ye must repent, and be baptized in my name, and become as a little child, or ye can in no wise inherit the kingdom of God. Verily, verily, I say unto you that this is my doctrine, and whoso buildeth upon this buildeth upon my rock, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against them. And whoso shall declare more or less than this, and establish it for my doctrine, the same cometh of evil, and is not built upon my rock; but he buildeth upon a sandy foundation, and the gates of hell stand open to receive such when the floods come and the winds beat upon them.

—3 NEPHI 11:38-40

Bruno Bettelheim in *The Uses of Enchantment* points out that for faith stories or myths to have their full play with children's minds and emotions, they should just be told. No adult should raise that question children all too soon raise themselves, "But did it really happen?" Although Bettelheim points out that it is cruel to lie to a child and actively tell him or her that the story really happened, he also points out that these stories serve an important role in helping children understand and cope with the world. To rob the child of the opportunity to hear the story in innocence would be cruel.

I think herein lies the best hope for a graceful shifting of doctrinal gear regarding the Book of Mormon. I am not calling for the church to come out next year with a confession that they were wrong on Book of Mormon antiquity, that Smith got it wrong, and that we need to all become enlightened, post-critical Latter-day Saints. First of all it would never happen. Furthermore it never should happen. For the church's role is to preach the gospel. If there is anything in what I am saying it is the notion that ultimately whether the Book of Mormon is ancient really does not matter. The threat of idolatry I mention only exists when one consciously decides that antiquity does matter. The religious effects I mentioned often lie behind such a decision. But even the liberal, neo-orthodox, or radical theologies I prefer over fundamental-

ism have their own threats of idolatry. Secular thought is probably most fraught with idolatry of self. What is important are the stories set that we share and our ability to help each other heed the call of Jesus Christ by retelling those stories.

Understanding the Book of Mormon as a fictional work of nineteenth-century scripture has real advantages. The book opens up for interpretation when read this way. The stories take on an added dimension far beyond, I find, any that was lost when I stopped believing in historical Nephites. The same kind of exegetical methods and theological frameworks that obtain in biblical study begins to obtain here.

Of course such understanding gives us a scripture that is not perfect and not harmonious. And this means a kind of canon within the canon develops, ideally a canon centered on the centrality of Jesus in our religious lives and our need to follow him. The interaction between church, scripture, and believer becomes all the more important as legalist approaches to scripture, authoritarian approaches to church governance, and pride-flattering sectarian tenets lose their power for us.

Briefly put we should stop talking about the Book of Mormon's antiquity and begin reading its stories, considering how early Mormons would have understood them and relating their context to our own. To do this we need not only read the Book of Mormon but also to become authentically biblically aware, historically more sophisticated, and much more spiritually literate.

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CHAPTER 2

Anti-Universalist Rhetoric in the Book of Mormon

Dan Vogel

That the Book of Mormon claims to be a divinely inspired translation of an ancient American record presents an unusual situation for modern researchers in evaluating and interpreting its contents. But I believe there is a common ground on which Mormon and non-Mormon scholars can discuss the Book of Mormon in its nineteenth-century context without necessarily making conclusions about its historicity.

The question of the Book of Mormon's historicity becomes secondary when the rhetorical critic seeks to understand the book's message to its first readers. Rhetorical criticism focuses on the dynamic between the speaker or writer and his/her audience: what are the strategies adopted by the speaker or writer; what are the possible perceptions of the intended audience? As Burton L. Mack explains, "Rhetorical criticism takes the historical moment of a human exchange seriously in order to assess the quality of an encounter and the merits of an argumentation. It takes the social circumstances seriously in order to view the exchange from the perspective of each participant" (1990, 101).[1]

When analyzing rhetorical works of the past, the critic must also employ the historical-critical method. The critic does this, Mack con-

1. Although there are various approaches to rhetorical criticism, and notwithstanding the debates among advocates of these various approaches, I find the historical approach of most value to the subject at hand. For general works dealing with rhetorical criticism, see Black 1978; Brock and Scott 1972; Corbett 1969; Booth 1961; and Mouat 1958. For use of rhetorical criticism in biblical studies, see Jackson and Kessler 1974; Kennedy 1984; and Mack 1990. Mark Thomas (1987; 1989) has recently attempted to analyze sections of the Book of Mormon using rhetorical criticism.

tinues, "by linking the persuasive power of a speech not only to its logic of argumentation, but to the manner in which it addresses the social and cultural history of its audience and speaker" (1990, 15). Thus historical criticism attempts to reconstruct the intellectual and cultural climate of a period in order to better understand its literature. Its premise is the idea that no work is fully intelligible in isolation. Certainly all literature has an independent existence, but it also has just as surely a historical and cultural existence. As aesthetician Theodore M. Greene put it, "The special task of historical criticism is that of determining the nature and expressive intent of works of art in their historical context" (1947, 370).

Because rhetorical discourse is tactically designed to persuade a specific audience at a specific time, discovery of its historical context is requisite to its interpretation. Carl L. Becker, one of the great historians of ideas, explains that the works of previous generations sometime "seem irrelevant [to us] because the world pattern into which they are so dexterously woven is no longer capable of eliciting from us either an emotional or an aesthetic response" (1932, 12; see also Becker 1942, 135-223). Marjorie Nicolson explains the interpretive rewards of historical criticism: "Only when we become aware of the long history of the idea, its ramifications, its developments, and its final extinction, did certain familiar passages in the authors we knew best take on new meaning—new to us, but so thoroughly accepted by the authors themselves that they would have been amazed at the frequent misinterpretations of some of their well known lines" (1940, 73).

The historical-critical method is well known to biblical studies. As early as 1728, for example, Jean Alphonse Turretinus of Geneva urged: "One must put oneself into the times and into the surroundings in which [biblical authors] wrote, and one must see what [concepts] could arise in the souls of those who lived at that time" (in Kümmel 1972, 59; see also Krentz 1975). More recently Howard Kee, a historian of early Christianity, has observed that "the essential requirement for interpretation of a text is to read it in context: not merely in literary context, but in the wider, deeper social and cultural context in which both author and audience lived, and in which the language they employed took on the connotations to which the interpreter must seek to be sensitive" (Kee 1983, 3, in Quinn 1987, 150).

The historical approach to rhetorical criticism is sometimes called "movement study" since it usually attempts to focus on the rhetoric of social movements (Black 1978, 18-22). Leland M. Griffin gives the following advice to critics who study movements: "The student will note the crystallization of fundamental issues, the successive emergence of argument, appeal, counter-argument and counter-appeal, and the sanctions invoked by rhetoricians of both sides; he will note, by a

process of imaginative re-living in the age, by an analysis of consequences, the persuasive techniques which were effective and those which were ineffective; and he will note a time, very likely, when invention runs dry, when both aggressor and defendant rhetoricians tend to repeat their stock of argument and appeal" (1952, 186).

The essential task then is to establish the development of a particular idea before it reaches a certain text. But that is not to say that a direct cause-and-effect relationship can be demonstrated. The most that can be done is to establish a series of indirect relationships between a particular text and the tradition which lies behind it. In so doing one can at least narrow the areas in which hypothesis and deduction can be employed. A correct understanding of the social and cultural setting of a work of literature can often mean the difference between an interpretation which is consistent with that setting and one that is anachronistic.

Those who accept the antiquity of the Book of Mormon should not object to this approach, since a translation is usually expressed in the language and cultural symbols of its intended audience.[2] As Kenneth Burke explains, "You persuade man only insofar as you can talk his language by speech, gesture, tonality, order, image, attitude, idea, *identifying* your way with his" (1950, 55). This principle also applies to written rhetoric. It should therefore also be important for traditionalists to retrieve the cultural context in which Smith and his intended audience communicated.

Who is the Book of Mormon's intended audience? It is not an ancient readership. The Book of Mormon clearly states that it was written specifically for the benefit of Americans living in the 1820s, to put down false doctrine in the latter days (2 Ne. 3:12). It repeatedly addresses early nineteenth-century American readers—describing their political and religious situation, debating issues which they would find particularly distressing. As Nephi, a prophet who appears in the early chapters of the book, says about his prophecies and discussion about the future, "I know that they shall be of great worth unto them in the last days; for in that day shall they understand them" (25:8). "My soul delighteth in plainness," declares Nephi. "For after this manner doth the Lord God work among the children of men; ... for he speaketh unto men according to their language, unto their understanding" (31:3). Nephi promises that his words would sound to some of his readers "as one that hath a familiar spirit" (26:16). This principle

2. The theory that Joseph Smith conceptually translated the Book of Mormon is discussed in Roberts 1907-12, 1:255-74; Van Wagoner and Walker 1982; Ashment 1980; Lancaster 1990; and Ostler 1987.

has important implications to the study of the Book of Mormon's anti-Universalist rhetoric.

That the Book of Mormon referred to Universalism was recognized by Mormons and non-Mormons alike. Alexander Campbell, well-known founder of the Disciples of Christ, mentioned in his 1831 critique of the Book of Mormon that it "decides all the great controversies," including "eternal punishment" (*Millennial Harbinger*, Feb. 1831, 93). When interpreting the first chapter of Alma, E. D. Howe, editor of the *Painesville [Ohio] Telegraph*, said, "The name of our ancient Universalist is called Nehor" (Howe 1834, 70). Howe's identification was not simply an outsider's view, for in *References to the Book of Mormon*, a four-page Mormon work probably published in Kirtland, Ohio, in 1835, references were also made to "Nehor the Universalian" and "Amlici the Universalist" (see Underwood 1985, 77). When debating a Universalist in 1832, Orson Hyde quoted a passage from Alma's letter to what he called Alma's Universalist son Corianton (Hyde, Journal, 4 Feb. 1832; cf. Alma 41:3-4).

Not surprisingly those who believed in the doctrine of universal salvation were sensitive to the Book of Mormon's message on that subject. Sylvester Smith noted in 1833 that "the Universalist says it [the Book of Mormon] reproaches his creed" (*Evening and Morning Star* 2 [July 1833]: 108). Prior to his conversion, Eli Gilbert of Connecticut read the Book of Mormon "just after its publication" and remembered how "it bore hard upon my favorite notions of universal salvation" (*Messenger and Advocate* 1 [Oct. 1834]: 9). According to Smith family tradition, Joseph Smith's grandfather Asael Smith shortly before his death on 1 November 1830 denounced his belief in Universalism after having read the Book of Mormon.[3]

Unfortunately what first readers took for granted, they did not explain in detail, so the historian must place modern readers as far as possible in the vantage point of the original audience. With rhetorical criticism, explains Mack, "the rhetorical situation has to be reconstructed, the issue that mattered has to be identified, and the designs of the authors upon their listeners/readers have to be disclosed" (1990, 20). Accordingly the major purposes of this essay are: (1) to examine

3. According to one of Asael's daughters-in-law, he declared on his deathbed "his full and firm belief in the everlasting gospel and also regretted that he was not baptized when Joseph his son was there and acknowledged that the doctrine of universalism which he had so long advocated, was not true" (M. Wilford Poulson, ed., "Copy of an Old Notebook," typescript at Brigham Young University, 40-41, in Anderson 1971, 215n217). George A. Smith wrote that his grandfather had accepted the Mormon gospel, though he "had been for many years a universalist and exceedingly set in his way" (G. A. Smith, "Memoirs," handwritten ms., 2, in Anderson 1971, 112).

the Book of Mormon's anti-Universalist rhetoric; (2) to outline the early American debate about the doctrine of universal salvation and to explore possible ways in which the Book of Mormon participated in that discussion; and (3) to explore how that message may have been perceived by its first readers.

Latter-day Universalists Foreseen

Both Moroni and Nephi refer to those in the last days who teach universal salvation. Moroni writes that the Book of Mormon would come forth in a day "when there shall be many who will say, Do this, or do that, and it mattereth not, for the Lord will uphold such at the last day. But wo unto such, for they are in the gall of bitterness and in the bonds of iniquity" (Morm. 8:31). Nephi refers to those who would say, "Eat, drink, and be merry, for tomorrow we die; and it shall be well with us" (2 Ne. 28:7). That Nephi is describing an organized group rather than a prevailing attitude is indicated by his explicit reference to latter-day "churches" which "contend one with another" (vv. 3, 4). Nevertheless Nephi condemns these teachings as "false and vain and foolish doctrines" (v. 9). "Because of pride, and because of false teachers, and false doctrine, their churches have become corrupted," declares Nephi (v. 12).

Nephi may have also referred to this same group when he prophesied that Satan in the last days would deceive many because he "telleth them there is no hell; and he saith unto them: I am no devil, for there is none" (2 Ne. 28:22). Thus the Book of Mormon itself invites modern readers to search Joseph Smith's environment for a group fitting the descriptions by Moroni and Nephi.

The early nineteenth-century movement best fitting the Book of Mormon's description was Universalism, which first convened as a body in Oxford, Massachusetts, in 1785 and advocated that regardless of earthly performance, all humanity would be saved in the end.[4] Universalism flourished among the uneducated in rural northern New England and by the early nineteenth century had spread to New York, Pennsylvania, and Ohio, where it became a growing concern for the more "orthodox" churches.[5] By 1823 Universalism had established nearly ninety congregations in the lower Black River Valley, along the Finger Lakes, and in the Genesee River counties (Cross 1950, 17-18; Miller 1979, 161). In addition to denominational Universalism, the or-

4. The best work on the history of Universalism is Miller 1979. See also Eddy 1884-86; Robinson 1985; and Canfield 1941.

5. On the modest growth of Universalism in antebellum America, see Miller 1979, 159-67.

thodox were concerned about the spread of "heretical" Universalist doctrine among the unchurched.

Orthodox concern for Universalism was such that Buffalo's *Gospel Advocate* complained in 1823 that "the doctrine of Universal Salvation is at the present moment making unparalleled inroads upon superstition in this village and vicinity, and such unchristian conduct will only aid its promulgation" (20 June 1823, 184). David Millard reportedly said in 1818 that in Mendon, New York, less than fifteen miles southwest of Joseph Smith Sr.'s farm in Manchester, "Universalism, was a predominent opinion in the place, and a neglect of christian duties, with a corruption of morals, the fruit it bore" ([*Portsmouth, NH] Christian Herald*, July 1818, 40). In 1835 the orthodox *Boston Recorder* declared that "Universalism is the reigning heresy of the day. It is spreading itself far and wide. It is poisoning more minds, and ruining more souls, than any, if not all other heresies among us" (in *Trumpet*, 17 May 1834, 186; see also 24 Apr. 1830, 170).

Joseph Smith, Jr., was intimately acquainted with the debate between Universalism and orthodoxy through his parents and his grandfathers Solomon Mack and Asael Smith. There is evidence that Joseph Sr.'s liberal approach to religion included the notion of universal salvation and that these views conflicted with his wife Lucy's conservatism.[6] Joseph Jr.'s grandfather Asael Smith held the doctrine of universal salvation until shortly before his death in 1830, while Joseph Jr.'s maternal grandfather Solomon Mack denounced his belief in Universalism just prior to 1811.[7] A number of Joseph Smith's friends and acquaintances were influenced by Universalistic notions. Martin Harris of Palmyra, New York, who became acquainted with Smith in 1827 and acted as his scribe during the early efforts to translate the gold plates, was a Universalist (Howe 1834, 260-61; Clark 1842, 223). Joseph Knight, Sr., of Colesville, New York, who befriended Smith in the mid-1820s, was also a Universalist (Knight 1883, 47; J. Smith 1964, 1:81).

Universalism began in eighteenth-century New England with the teachings of John Murray (1741-1815), an Englishman who landed in

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6. William Smith reported that his father's "faith in the universal restoration doctrin[e] however often brought him in contact with the advocates of the doctrin[e] of endless misrey" and that "the belief in the ultimate and final redemption of mankind to heaven and happiness, brought down upon my father the aprobiem or slur of Old Jo Smith" (W. Smith 1875, 18; see also Turner 1851, 213). For a discussion of Joseph Smith Sr.'s early universalism, see Anderson 1971, 106. See also L. Smith 1853, 54-56, for Lucy Smith's account of the religious differences of her and her husband.

7. For Asael Smith's Universalism, see Anderson 1971, 105-106, 112, 207n183, 207n185, 215n217. For Solomon Mack's Universalism and subsequent denouncement, see ibid., 52-53, 208n187.

New Jersey in 1770. To be sure there were others before Murray who taught various versions of Universalism,[8] but Murray is usually credited with laying the foundation for Universalism as a denomination (see Miller 1979, 40-44; see also Dodge 1911; Murray 1812-13; 1816). Although Murray was a Calvinist in many respects, he discarded the notion that Jesus Christ had suffered only for the elect. Christ atoned for the sins of all humankind, Murray argued. While humans were no longer to be punished for their sins, Murray nevertheless believed that some would be punished for their unbelief. However, Murray held that every human would ultimately be redeemed and reconciled to God, thus making a "restitution of all things."

Another Englishman who asserted some influence on Universalism in America was Elhanan Winchester (1751-97) (see Miller 1979, 44-49; also Stone 1836; Sweeny 1969; Winchester 1972; McGehee 1959). Winchester held a version of Universalism similar to Murray's. Although Winchester also believed in an interim period of suffering, he differed with Murray in that he believed that humanity would be punished (perhaps for 50,000 years) in the afterlife for sins committed during mortality and that salvation would come only after complete purgation.

If Murray was troubled by Winchester's version of Universalism, he was even more concerned by the assertion of others that there was no punishment at all after death, that the dead are restored to holiness and happiness and return immediately to God's presence. As early as 1790 Murray lamented that "some dangerous errors [were] creeping in among the people, and I am afraid they will prevail. They teach that the day of the Lord is past, that there is no future sorrow to be apprehended" (in Eddy 1984-86, 1:337).

In an attempt to unify their teaching, the General Convention of Universalists adopted in 1803 the following as one of its articles of faith: "We believe that there is one God, whose nature is Love, revealed in one Lord Jesus Christ, by one Holy Spirit of Grace, who will finally restore the whole family of mankind to holiness and happiness" (in Miller 1979, 45-46).

Despite this attempt, beginning in 1811 and continuing through the 1820s American Universalism was torn by the debate over whether men and women would be punished for their sins after death. Universalists who followed Winchester's belief that humankind would undergo a period of punishment in the afterlife before being saved were

8. The idea of universal salvation was debated as early as the second century. Both Clement of Alexandria (ca. 150 C.E.-ca. 215 C.E.) and Origen (ca. 185 C.E.-ca. 254 C.E.) held the possibility of even Satan being restored (see Patrides 1967). For antecedents of Universalism in Europe and America, see Miller 1979, 34-39.

called Restorationists. Those who denied punishment after death were called Universalists or sometimes Ultra-Universalists (see Miller 1979, 111-26; Eddy 1984-86, 2:132-37, 260-342; Johnson 1978). The term restoration, however, was a catch word for both groups who used it to refer to the "final restoration of all men to happiness" (*Gospel Advocate*, 19 Jan. 1827, 3 Feb. 1826).

Nephi aptly described a latter-day group of Restorationists. In the last days, Nephi states, there shall be those who shall say: "Eat, drink, and be merry; nevertheless, fear God—he will justify in committing a little sin; yea, lie a little, take the advantage of one because of his words, dig a pit for thy neighbor; there is no harm in this; and do all these things, for tomorrow we die; and if it so be that we are guilty, God will beat us with a few stripes, and at last we shall be saved in the kingdom of God" (2 Ne. 28:8).[9]

Other refinements important to Universalism took place under Hosea Ballou (1772-1852) (see Miller 1979, 98-110; also Cassara 1958; 1961; Whittemore 1854-55). In his influential 1805 book *A Treatise on Atonement*, Ballou rejected the trinity and set Universalism on the theological road that eventually led to union with Unitarians. In addition to his Unitarian position on the Godhead, Ballou made other contributions to Universalist thought.

Ballou rejected the common theory of the Atonement that since humans sin against God, who is infinite in nature, sin itself is infinite and therefore requires an infinite atonement in order to fulfill the demands of justice (Ballou 1805, 15-115). Ballou, for example, announced in the preface to his *Treatise* that he intended to disprove "the ideas, that sin is infinite, and that it deserves an infinite punishment; that the law transgressed is infinite, and inflicts an infinite penalty; and that the great Jehovah took on himself a natural body of flesh and blood, and actually suffered death on a cross, to satisfy his infinite justice, and thereby save his creatures from endless misery" (ibid., iv). Thus Ballou rejected the doctrine of vicarious atonement. Instead Ballou argued that Jesus suffered for humans to lead humankind to divine love, not to atone for sin. In other words Jesus' mission was to effect a moral or spiritual deliverance (ibid., 15-115; see also *Universalist Magazine*, 24 July 1819, 13; 13 May 1820, 181-82; 20 May 1820, 185-86).

Although the major purpose of his *Treatise* was "to prove the doctrine of *universal holiness* and *happiness*," Ballou was at this time ambiva-

9. Kevin Christensen doubts that "many Universalist sermons followed the complete text of 2 Nephi 28:8" (1990, 223). Christensen, however, overlooks the fact that the Book of Mormon is written from an anti-Universalist position and is an outsider's characterization. Furthermore, as will be demonstrated, it is typical of anti-Universalist rhetoric.

lent about the nature and duration of future punishment. He emphatically denounced the assertion that the scriptures proved "the *endless misery* of a *mortal being*" (Ballou 1805, iii, 189), but he was only concerned to establish the concept of universal restoration. Whether there was an interim period was only a minor detail. Later, beginning in 1817, Ballou would come out more decidedly against future retribution.[10]

Of course, orthodox Christians took exception to the doctrine of universal salvation. To the orthodox it appeared that Universalists denied the justice of God, ignored clear reference in the Bible to an endless torment in hell, promoted immorality, and neglected repentance. Universalism, however, was evolving into an intricate and sophisticated system of belief and much of the anti-Universalism was distorted and misrepresentative. Even evangelist Charles G. Finney took to task some of the uninformed preaching against Universalists (1835, 166-67).

Nephi's characterization of a latter-day group with the motto, "eat, drink, and be merry" (cf. 1 Kgs. 4:20; Eccl. 8:15; Isa. 22:13; Luke 12:19; 1 Cor. 15:32), is typical anti-Universalist rhetoric. For example, John Cleaveland (1722-99), pastor of the second church in Ipswich, attacked Murray's teachings as only a step away from atheism, stating in 1776: "Follow this scheme but a little farther and you will deny a future state of reward as well as punishment, and then join issue with the atheistical and swinish *Epicures*, saying, *Let us eat and drink, for tomarrow we die*" (1776, 29). Addressing Murray directly, Cleaveland continued: "You must know, Sir, that drunkards, profane swearers, whoremongers, and the most abandoned sinners, feel no opposition to, no quarrelling in their sinful inclinations, affections, and lusts, with such doctrine and preaching. ... They do not say, *it is a hard saying who can bear it*? [John 6:60] No, for it encourages them to bless themselves in their hearts, saying, *we shall have peace, though we walk in the imaginations of our hearts to add drunkenness to thirst!* And the little boys in your streets are already caught in the snare and say, 'We may swear and curse and lie and quarrel and do what we will that is bad without any danger of going to the devil in everlasting burnings; for Mr. M[urray] preaches that all men will be saved and be happy forever'" (ibid., 26).

In an "Address of the Late Reverend Mr. [Samuel] Chandler," which Cleaveland included in his book, this same sentiment is expressed: "[Universalists] are extremely dangerous to the souls of men: They encourage the wicked in their wickedness; for upon these principles a man may live and die in sin, and yet go to heaven at last; he

10. Ballou began presenting his argument against future retribution in 1817 in the columns of the *Gospel Visitant* (Charlestown, MA). See Miller 1979, 111, 112-14; Cassara 1971, 148; see also Ballou 1834.

may get drunk, and commit fornication and adultery, he may cheat, and steal, and lye, and indulge all manner of carnal gratifications, and be saved notwithstanding" (1776, 46; Croswell 1775, 19).

Andrew Croswell (1709-85), pastor of a church in Boston, in a 1775 attack on the teachings of Murray said that Universalism was a doctrine "evidently tending to fill the world with sin and wickedness of all kinds" and that "it is easy to see that knaves, cheats, thieves and robbers, must be multiplied and encouraged, by the same comfortable gospel" (1775, 4, 9).

Nephi's description of a latter-day movement which believed in a period of punishment but rationalized that God would beat the guilty with only a "few stripes" has an interesting parallel to a parable in chapter 12 of the Gospel of Luke. In the parable the unwise servant says in his heart, "My lord delayeth his coming," and begins "to beat the menservants and maidens, and to eat and drink, and to be drunken" (Luke 12:45). But when the lord comes, he shall punish those servants who knew better, and they "shall be beaten with many stripes," while those who acted in ignorance "shall be beaten with few stripes" (vv. 47-48). Elhanan Winchester referred to this parable in 1794 in order to prove that the wicked were punished in the afterlife and that this punishment was limited (Winchester 1794, 1:21).

Samuel Hopkins (1721-1803), pastor of the first Congregationalist church in Newport, Rhode Island, rejected the Restorationist claim that "a long future punishment, including very great and terrible sufferings, even till the sinner is brought to repentance, is sufficient effectually to restrain men from their wicked courses." He responded by asserting that "the fear of a finite punishment must have unspeakably less influence on the sinner, than of an endless one, if it will have any [effect] at all" (1783, 180).

Orthodox Christians were especially troubled by the Ultra-Universalist claim that there was neither devil nor hell. For example, on 25 August 1826, the *Gospel Advocate*, a Universalist newspaper published in Buffalo, New York, declared that "the devil is a nonentity, and an endless hell of brimstone a bug-bear." On 3 March 1826 the same paper had printed a letter from an orthodox Christian who asserted that Universalists "blas[p]hemiously assert that there is neither hell nor devil."

Emergence of Nephite Universalism

The first chapter of the Book of Alma contains the story of the origin of a Universalist sect among the Nephites which dramatically teaches a lesson the orthodox of Smith's day would have understood. About 91 B.C.E. Nehor began to preach a blend of "priestcraft." Spe-

cifically he taught that "every priest and teacher ought to become popular; and they ought not to labor with their hands, but that they ought to be supported by the people. And he also testified unto the people that all mankind should be saved at the last day, and that they need not fear nor tremble, but that they might lift up their heads and rejoice; for the Lord had created all men, and had also redeemed all men; and, in the end, all men should have eternal life" (Alma 1:3-4).

Soon Nehor won converts, who gave him money, and founded a church, which contended against the established "church of God" headed by Alma. One day on his way to preach Nehor ran into the orthodox Gideon who began to debate with him. When Gideon got the better of him, Nehor drew his sword and slew him. However, Nehor was immediately taken by members of Gideon's church to stand before Alma, the chief judge. Alma condemned him for priestcraft and murder, "therefore thou art condemned to die, according to the law ... [and] this people must abide by the law" (Alma 1:14). Nehor was taken to the top of a hill and hanged, and he "did acknowledge, between the heavens and the earth, that what he had taught to the people was contrary to the word of God; and there he suffered an ignominious death" (v. 15).

Nehor's slaying of Gideon could be seen as historicizing the attitude of some orthodox Americans that Universalism was a threat to public safety. Andrew Croswell, for example, called Universalism the "murdering gospel." In a 1775 attack on Murray's teachings, Croswell declared: "To mention no more (I speak *now* only of the body) it is a *murdering gospel.* How easily can satan persuade a man to gratify his revenge, or avarice, by shedding his brother's blood, who believes that the words spoken to Daniel, *O man greatly beloved of God,* are applicable to every murderer; and that all murderers shall have eternal life? The shocking accounts we have heard or read of murders, are nothing for number to what they would have been, if this *bloody* gospel had been commonly received: And if God should suffer the *leaven* to spread in the christian world, one may foretell, without a spirit of prophesy [sic], that thousands and ten thousands will be marder'd by it" (1775, 9-10).

The same accusation was made in the *Methodist Magazine* in 1820: "The doctrine of Universalism is also calculated to subvert all civil governments, by weakening or destroying the principles upon which all such governments are founded, the sanctions of divine law. Let these restraints be removed, let it be inculcated on all classes in society, that a man may do as he will, or commit what wickedness he pleases in this life, and that he will not be punished in the next; or what amounts to the same thing, that his punishment will be only for a limited duration, and then who can pronounce himself safe from the

hand of the assassin? What security has any man, that he will not be murdered in his bed, by the villain, who believes and declares, there is no future punishment? who laughs at the notion of a devil and a hell, as mere nursery tales, trumped up for the purpose of scaring little children, and keeping them in awe?" (Oct. 1820, 378)

Public executions of Universalists were often exploited by the orthodox as proof of the lack of moral character of believers in universal restoration. The *Gospel Advocate* took occasion in 1825 to respond. Citing examples of orthodox executions, the *Advocate* complained that "nothing was said" concerning their belief and that their "faith was not urged as the cause of sin." However, in the event of Universalist executions, "it is thought to be a fit opportunity to create or strengthen prejudice against Universalism, by assuring the crowd that the unhappy objects before their eyes entertained that faith, and that under its influence, they were impelled to dip their hands in the blood of murder." The *Advocate* accused orthodox ministers of deliberately filling their execution sermons with distortion, exclaiming that it would be a hypocritical faith which "encourages people to *deceive* and *lie*, while they stand on the gallows and see their brethren sent into eternity by an ignominious death!" (9 Sept. 1825, 275)[11]

Although Universalists themselves declared "holiness and true happiness are inseparably connected, and that believers ought to be careful to maintain order and practice good works," they urged it not to avoid punishment or hell but because it is "good and profitable unto man" (in Miller 1979, 46). Orthodox Christians argued that if God's law was only a moral code with no punishment, there would be no motivation for obedience. Murray in 1779 gave the basic precepts to be followed by Universalists regarding church-state relations. "As dwellers in the world, though not of it, we held ourselves bound to yield obedience to every ordinance of men, for God's sake, and we will be peaceable and obedient subjects to the powers that are ordained of God in all civil cases" (in ibid., 170).

Nevertheless, misunderstanding persisted. For example, in May 1821 the presiding Methodist elder of New York's Black River Conference, Mr. Evarts, debated the Universalist Mr. Morse in Ellisburg. Evarts in typical Methodist fashion argued to support "the doctrine of endless misery." He also attacked Universalism "as equally destruc-

11. The reference to "ignominious death" is not intended as a direct parallel to Alma 1:15, for it was a common description in the early nineteenth century for public executions (see *Wayne Sentinel*, 31 Aug. 1827); even Jesus' crucifixion was described as an "ignominious death." Samson Occom, for example, states that Jesus "was lifted up between the heaven and the earth, and was crucified on the accursed tree; his blessed hands and feet were fastened there;—there he died a shameful and ignominious death" (Occom 1773, 23).

tive of individual peace and public safety" (in Cassara 1971, 128).

The lesson for Universalists in the Book of Mormon story of Nehor was clear. Just as Nehor was to suffer death for breaking the law, so also would he suffer eternal death for disobeying God's commandments. And just as he acknowledged his error "between the heavens and the earth," so would he suffer "between death and the resurrection" (Alma 40:11-14). Despite their Universalist beliefs, followers of Nehor had learned to respect human laws, for they did not lie or steal or murder for "fear of the law" (1:17-18; cf. 42:19-20). Thus when the Book of Mormon argued that fear of punishment is a motive for obedience to both civil and divine law, it makes the same point that one Methodist made in 1820: "Every civilized society has wisely provided against such evils ... commanding respect to the majesty of its laws, by inflicting the sanctions of punishments: and that if a villain were to [murder] ... he would be hung. So then," this writer continues, it is unreasonable to conclude "the law of God [is] devoid of power to enforce obedience! ... This surely cannot be consistent with the dictates of either reason or justice, that a man shall pay the forfeit of his life to the violated law, that embraces his existence, as a member of civil society; and yet be a transgressor of *that* law which is immutable and eternal in its obligations, and escape condemnation. No, the law of God runs parallel with the immortality of the soul of man, and is always present in its moral obligations, or in the infliction of punishment" (*Methodist Magazine*, Oct. 1820, 378-79).

Even Restorationists criticized Ultra-Universalists for their disbelief in God's punishment. The *Christian Herald* of Portsmouth, New Hampshire, stated in 1818 that Universalism "leads to licentiousness, and encourages the wicked to live in open rebellion against God. And he who believes it will conclude that faith and repentance, &c. is nothing, and that he need not trouble himself concerning his present or future situation, and may live according to the course of this world, and be happy at last" (May 1818, 4). "Did you ever know any reformation among any people where they were taught to believe that there was no future punishment?" the *Herald* asked (ibid., 7).

The death of Nehor did not stop priestcraft from spreading in the Book of Mormon (Alma 1:16). Nehor's church was a chief competitor of the "church of God" and was responsible for persecuting members of the true church (vv. 19-22). In fact this faction became so influential that they attempted to establish Amlici, a man who was of the order of Nehor, as king (2:1-2). Fearing that Amlici would "deprive them of their rights and privileges" and that "it was his intent to destroy the church of God," "the voice of the people" defeated him (vv. 4-7). Nevertheless Amlici and his followers united with the Lamanites and promoted rebellion and civil war. When the Nephites with divine aid

slaughtered the Amlicites, Mormon editorialized that "in one year were thousands and tens of thousands of souls sent to the eternal world, that they might reap their rewards according to their works, whether they were good or whether they were bad, to reap eternal happiness or eternal misery, according to the spirit which they listed to obey, whether it be a good spirit or a bad one" (3:26).

Ammonihan Universalists

Nehor's Universalist teachings had continuing influence in the Book of Mormon narrative. About the year 83 B.C.E., Alma gives up his judgment seat in order to travel throughout the Nephite lands preaching religious and social reform (Alma 4:15-20). Teaming up with Amulek, he preached to the Universalists in the city of Ammonihah. It is said that "the people that were in the land of Ammonihah ... were of the profession of Nehor" and that "many lawyers, and judges, and priests, and teachers ... were of the profession of Nehor" (14:16, 18; 15:15).

During Amulek's examination by Zeezrom, one of the most successful of the unscrupulous lawyers of Ammonihah and foremost defenders of Universalism, Amulek employs a classic anti-Universalist argument. To Zeezrom's question—"Shall [the Son of God] save his people in their sins?"—Amulek answered: "The Lord surely shall come to redeem his people; but ... he should not come to redeem them in their sins, but to redeem them from their sins" (Alma 11:36-37; cf. 21:7; Hel. 5:10).

Elhanan Winchester argued in his *Course of Lectures on the Prophecies* that the "foundation" for understanding the "doctrine of salvation" was found in Matthew 1:21: "And she shall bring forth a son, and thou shalt call his name JESUS: for he shall save his people from their sins." He interpreted the passage as a proclamation of universal salvation, stating that since "all men are certainly the people of Jesus, ... consequently he shall save all mankind from their sins" (1800, 2:256-57).[12] The orthodox, however, combatted this interpretation. Charles Marford (1769-1849), a lay preacher from Victor, New York (about ten miles from the Smith home in Manchester), argued in about 1819: "Are all to be redeemed, and to be ransomed of the Lord. None but those that sincerely and truly repent of their Sins, and forsake them in this life, and return unto the Lord, will obtain the pardon of their sins. Christ is a Savior to Save his people from their Sins, and not in them and those that think otherwise will be overthrown with that dreadful

12. This aspect of the orthodox-Universalist debate as well as its relevance to the Book of Mormon has been discussed in M. Thomas 1983, 21-22.

overthrow with which God overthrew Sodom and Gomorah."[13]

Charles Finney did not think this argument was strong. "I have heard men preach against the idea that men are saved *in* their sins, and they supposed they were preaching down Universalist doctrine. Universalists believe no such thing" (1835, 166). Hosea Ballou complained in 1805 that "the opposers of universalism have generally written and contended the doctrine, under an entire mistaken notion of it. They have endeavored to show the absurdity of believing that men could be received into the *kingdom* of *glory* and *righteousness, in their sins*; which *no Universalist ever believed*." He reminded readers that "the salvation which God wills is a salvation *from sin*" (1805, vii, 209).

Alma declares to Universalists in the city of Ammonihah that after the resurrection and judgment "is a time that whosoever dieth in his sins, as to a temporal death, shall also die a spiritual death" (12:16). This same argument was used by other Book of Mormon prophets. Abinadi, for example, declares that "the Lord redeemeth none such that rebel against him and die in their sins" (Mosiah 15:26), and King Benjamin explains to his people that the person who "remaineth and dieth in his sins, the same drinketh damnation to his own soul; for he receiveth for his wages an everlasting punishment, having transgressed the law of God contrary to his own knowledge" (2:33; also v. 38). Both Jacob and Moroni give similar warnings to those who "die in their sins" (1 Ne. 15:33; 2 Ne. 9:38; Moro. 10:26).

The idea that those who die in their sins cannot be saved was likewise used by anti-Universalists. They based their argument on John 8:21 where Jesus tells the Pharisees, "I go my way, and ye shall seek me, and shall die in your sins: whither I go, ye cannot come." This passage was used in 1824 by the Reverend Stephen I. Bradstreet of Cleveland, Ohio, to argue that "those Jews to which Christ spake, are never to reach Heaven." However, Universalists were quick to counter this argument by quoting John 13:33, "Little children, yet a little while I am with you. Ye shall seek me: and as I said unto the Jews, Whither I go, ye cannot come; so now I say to you." After citing this passage, a Universalist who reviewed Bradstreet's work in 1824 argued: "Here Christ tells his chosen disciples that they shall no more be able to follow him than would those Jews to whom he had before made the *same* declaration. Now, does Mr. B[radstreet] mean to say that he supposes Paul and all the other chosen disciples of Jesus to be now roasting in his

13. From original sermons of Charles Marford, in possession of J. Sheldon Fisher of Fishers, New York; also microfilm copy at Cornell University, Ithaca, New York. Those writings which do have dates range from 1818 to 1820. Wesley P. Walters brought this collection to my attention.

imaginary hell, with those Jews to whom Christ spake?" (*Gospel Advocate*, 6 Aug. 1824, 236; see also Bradstreet 1824; Hopkins 1783, 32)

Alma also declares to the Ammonihah Universalists regarding those who die in their sins and suffer the second death that "their torments shall be as a lake of fire and brimstone, whose flame ascendeth up forever and ever" (Alma 12:17). This statement is repeatedly used in the Book of Mormon. Jacob declares that the wicked "shall go away into everlasting fire; prepared for them; and their torment is as a lake of fire and brimstone, whose flame ascendeth up forever and ever and has no end" (2 Ne. 9:16; cf. vv. 19, 26; Jacob 3:11; 6:10). Both Nephi and King Benjamin connect this lake of fire and brimstone with the eternal torment of the wicked (2 Ne. 28:23; Mosiah 3:27; cf. Alma 14:14).

Based on passages in Revelation (14:10-11; 19:20; 20:10, 14, 15; 21:8), anti-Universalists attempted to establish the doctrine of eternal torment. Upon those who take part in spiritual Babylon, Revelation states that they "shall be tormented with fire and brimstone ... and the smoke of their torment ascendeth up forever and ever: and they have no rest day nor night, who worship the beast" (14:10-11). This passage was mentioned in 1824 by the Reverend Mr. Bradstreet as an argument against universal restoration (Bradstreet 1824; see also Hopkins 1783, 20, 46-47). However, the Universalist who reviewed Bradstreet's work referred to Revelation 20:13, 14 and argued that "it must be remembered that Mr. B[radstreet]'s hell in which ... all the wicked will be tormented eternally, was also cast into this same lake of fire. ... It must also be borne in mind that *before* this hell of Mr. B[radstreet]'s was cast into the lake of fire it delivered up all the dead that were in it—of course they were not cast into the lake with hell" (*Gospel Advocate*, 6 Aug. 1824, 236-37). The reviewer responded to the statement in Revelation 14:11 that the wicked "have no rest, day nor night," by arguing: "Now, did Mr. B[radstreet] ever find any account of *day* and *night* in a future state of existence? ... Mr. B[radstreet] quotes those words and yet does not see that they confine the meaning of the passages to this state of existence, where day and night are found" (ibid., 237; see also Ballou 1805, 135-36; *Universalist Magazine*, 13 May 1820, 183).

Corianton's Universalist Heresy

Other anti-Universalist arguments used by Amulek and Alma would be expanded and clarified in later chapters of the Book of Alma (see, for instance, Alma 11:38-45; 12:1-18). We are told that the Amulonites, part Nephite and part Lamanite, were also "after the manner of the Nehors" (21:1-4), and when Aaron preached repentance to them, they replied: "How knowest thou that we have cause to repent? ... We

do believe that God will save all men" (v. 6). But those Book of Mormon passages which must have resonated most clearly for early nineteenth-century Christians are those which described the emotional debate between Alma and his son Corianton (39-42). Corianton had forsaken his ministry to the Zoramites and taken up with "wicked harlots," especially the "harlot Isabel" (39:3, 11).[14] This conduct was largely due to Corianton's belief that God is merciful and will "restore" all men, both good and evil, to his presence (40:15-41:15).[15]

Alma's letter to Corianton is typical of the anti-Universalist rhetoric common in America prior to the publication of the Book of Mormon. In his letter Alma gives four major arguments against his son's beliefs.

First Alma condemns his son's sins as "most abominable above all sins save it be the shedding of innocent blood or denying the Holy Ghost" (Alma 39:5) and exhorts him to "repent and forsake your sins" (v. 9). Alma argues that "if ye deny the Holy Ghost when it once has had place in you, and ye know that ye deny it, behold, this is a sin which is unpardonable; yea, and whosoever murdereth against the light and knowledge of God, it is not easy for him to obtain forgiveness" (v. 6). This argument—which brings into play Jesus' words in the synoptic gospels (Matt. 12:31-32; Mark 3:29; Luke 12:10) and Hebrews 6:4-6 (cf. Heb. 10:26; 2 Pet. 2:20-22)—was a typical late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century argument against the idea of the ultimate salvation of all humankind. It was an argument employed by Oliver Cowdery in 1834 and by Joseph Smith in 1844 to disprove the claims of Ultra-Universalists (*Messenger and Advocate* 1 [July 1835]: 151; *Universalist Union*, 4 May 1844, 392).

The *Gospel Advocate* recognized in 1823 that reference to the unpardonable sin of blasphemy against the Holy Ghost was a major orthodox argument against universal restoration, stating that "BLASPHEMY AGAINST THE HOLY GHOST is frequently urged as an unanswerable objection to the salvation of those by whom it is committed. How often we hear it conceded by the most zealous abettors

14. Notice the interesting parallel with Revelation 2:20, in which the Lord chastises the church in Thyatira "because thou sufferest that woman Jezebel, which calleth herself a prophetess, to teach and to seduce my servants to commit fornication." While Daniel Peterson (1990, 216n22) compares Alma's "harlot Isabel" to the Jezebel of 1 Kings, I find comparison to Revelation 2:20 more striking.

15. Kevin Christensen has expressed doubt about my identification of Corianton as a Universalist, since Corianton seems to have expressed skepticism concerning the coming of Christ and the resurrection of the dead (Christensen 1990, 223; Vogel 1986, 6). Beyond a belief in universal salvation, Universalists were heterodox in their theology. Moreover, many Universalists in Joseph Smith's day were also Unitarians. Despite Christensen's objections, Corianton is clearly a believer in universal salvation (Alma 41:9-10).

[arbiters?] for the doctrine of endless sufferings, that if they could discover any way by which the final salvation of those who have sinned against the Holy Spirit, could be possible, they should entertain some hopes of the ultimate bliss of the whole human family" (26 Sept. 1823, 293; see also 16 Jan. 1824, 7-8). An article in the *Presbyterian Magazine* in 1821 gave the following argument against Universalism: "There is an unpardonable sin, for which prayer would be altogether useless; and that for this plain reason, it is declared to be *irremissible.* Our Lord has declared it so. It is the sin against the Holy Ghost. Now, it is clear, if this sin be unpardonable, the person guilty of it must for ever lie under the *ban* of vindicatory justice, and consequently his punishment must be eternal. ... We conclude, then, that all men cannot be exempted from eternal punishment upon the ground of a vicarious atonement, because all were not embraced in its design" (Mar. 1821, 123-24; see also Cleaveland 1776, 9; Hopkins 1783, 26, 38-39, 72-73, 76; *Methodist Magazine,* June 1820, 213; *New-York Missionary Magazine, and Repository of Religious Intelligence,* 1802, 415; *Utica Christian Magazine,* Aug. 1813, 61).

In order to counter this criticism, Universalists offered alternative interpretations of Jesus' words about sinning against the Holy Ghost. For example, it was common for Universalists to argue that "this sin should not be forgiven, under the Jewish or Christian dispensation, as the word here translated *world* is used sometimes for *an age*: And *this world* may signify the Mosaic dispensation, and *the world to come* the Christian, and not the future state" (Hopkins 1783, 76; see also Ballou 1805, 167-68; *Gospel Advocate,* 26 Sept. 1823, 293; cf. Clarke 1811, 5:138-39; A. Thomas 1852, 404-405). This interpretation was welcomed by Christians who sometimes believed that their subsequent sinning after conversion amounted to blasphemy against the Holy Ghost.[16]

Alma's second major argument against Universalism concerns "the state of the soul between death and the resurrection" (40:11). Alma tells Corianton that contrary to his Universalist assumptions, upon death there are two abodes for the spirits of God's children: "The spirits of those who are righteous are received into a state of happiness, which is called paradise," Alma says. But "the spirits of the wicked ... shall be cast out into outer darkness; there shall be weeping,

16. See Clarke 1811, 5:138, where he mentions that "many sincere people have been grievously troubled with apprehensions that they had committed the unpardonable sin." For at least one Methodist even a false concept of the nature of the Holy Ghost could constitute the unpardonable sin. "Do you say that Jesus Christ was a created being, and the Holy Spirit a mere emanation from the Father? Take care lest you commit the unpardonable sin" (*Methodist Magazine* 8 [Mar. 1825]: 83; see also A. Thomas 1852, 404-405).

and wailing, and gnashing of teeth, and this because of their iniquity" (vv. 12-13; cf. Mosiah 16:2). After the resurrection "an awful death cometh upon the wicked ... for they are unclean, and no unclean thing can inherit the kingdom of God" (v. 26). "Now this is the state of the souls of the wicked, yea, in darkness, and a state of awful, fearful looking for the fiery indignation of the wrath of God upon them; thus they remain in this state, as well as the righteous in paradise, until the time of their resurrection" (v. 14). While Alma speaks of the permanence of the separation of the wicked and righteous, Nephi explains that there is "an awful gulf, which separated the wicked from the tree of life, and also from the saints of God" (1 Ne. 15:28).

Concerning the state of the soul between death and resurrection, those who combatted Universalism liked to refer to Jesus' parable of Lazarus and the rich man (Luke 16:1-31). At death Lazarus "was carried by the angels into Abraham's bosom," but the rich man found himself in hell, "and in hell he lift up his eyes, being in torments, and seeth Abraham afar off, and Lazarus in his bosom" (vv. 22, 23). When the rich man asks Abraham to send Lazarus to him to relieve his thirst, Abraham explains that his request cannot be granted since "between us and you there is a great gulf fixed: so that they which would pass from hence to you cannot; neither can they pass to us, that would come from thence" (v. 26).

Arguing against Murray's teachings, John Cleaveland declared in 1776, "What comfort will it be to find ourselves in hell ... and *a great gulf fixed*?" (1776, iv; see also Hopkins 1783, 31, 73, 83) However, Universalist Elhanan Winchester argued in 1800 that "the gulf fixed between the abodes of the happy and miserable, was absolutely impassible to all, till Jesus came. ... What did Jesus Christ the anointed Saviour preach, or proclaim to them? I answer, He proclaimed the Gospel" (1800, 2:349). Further from 1 Peter 3:18-20, Winchester argued that Christ would not have preached to the "spirits in prison" if there was no hope of salvation after death (ibid., 340-54).

Alma's words that there will be "weeping, and wailing, and gnashing of teeth" among the wicked in "outer darkness" refers to a favorite prooftext of anti-Universalists (Cleaveland 1776, 38; Hopkins 1783, 26, 27, 29; *Methodist Magazine*, June 1820, 212-13; *New-York Missionary Magazine, and Repository of Religious Intelligence*, 1802, 410). The Gospel of Luke proclaims that the time would come when Christ would say, "Depart from me, all ye workers of iniquity. There shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth" (13:27-28). The wicked "shall be cast out into outer darkness: there shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth" (Matt. 8:12; also 13:42; 22:13; 24:51; 25:30).

In his third major attack on Universalism, Alma explains that his wayward son has misunderstood scriptural references to "restora-

tion." Like nineteenth-century Universalists, Corianton interpreted restoration to mean that all humanity would be "restored from sin to happiness" (Alma 41:9-10). However, Alma explains that the "restoration of which has been spoken by the mouth of the prophets" refers to a time when "the soul shall be restored to the body" (40:22-26), that is, in the resurrection.

A favorite passage of both Universalists and Restorationists was Acts 3:21, which declares that the heavens must retain Christ "until the times of restitution of all things, which God hath spoken by the mouth of all his holy prophets since the world began" (Ballou 1805, 178-82; Winchester 1800, 2:222). The orthodox would have interpreted the passage as a reference to the restoration of Israel. They rejected the Universalist's suggestion that it referred to universal resurrection. "Some have thought," wrote Hopkins in 1783, "[that] these words signify, that all creatures shall be restored to holiness and happiness by Christ." However, Hopkins continued, "*the restoration of all things* seems to mean nothing else here, but the *accomplishment* of all things which God hath spoken by the mouth of all his holy prophets" (1783, 95-96).

Alma attempts to turn his son's definition of the term "restoration" against itself. Rather than justifying the sinner, Alma argues, the term "restoration" actually condemns him or her, for "the meaning of the word restoration is to bring back again evil for evil, or carnal for carnal, or devilish for devilish—good for that which is good; righteous for that which is righteous; just for that which is just; merciful for that which is merciful ... therefore, the word restoration more fully condemneth the sinner, and justifieth him not at all" (41:13, 15). Alma therefore warns his son: "Do not suppose, because it has been spoken concerning restoration, that ye shall be restored from sin to happiness. Behold, I say unto you, wickedness never was happiness" (v. 10).

Universalists and Restorationists would have undoubtedly considered Alma's tactics unfair and misrepresentative. That Universalists did not define the term restoration as literally as Alma insists is indicated by an example from the autobiography of Abel C. Thomas: "The object or end of Christ's mission and ministry came up for consideration. It could not be strictly *a restoration*—that is, not in the literal meaning of the term—for this would imply a mere *undoing* of mischief, a taking back to a former condition—as the Restoration of the Stuarts after the protectorate of Cromwell—or the Restoration of the Bourbons after the fall of Napoleon. To be restored to the original state of man, as in the case of Adam before he sinned, would be merely a return to a condition of *innocence;* but the text [Rom. 5:19] specifies a forward march of man to an estate of *righteousness.* So the text declares—and such is the uniform testimony, directly or indirectly, regarding Christ's work" (1852, 82-83).

The Reverend Thomas's argument was essentially the same that Ballou expressed in his *Treatise*: "Can there be any dispute, in the reader's mind, respecting the nature of this restitution? Will any one pretend, that this restitution is only reinstating man in a state of probation? If that was the object of Christ's coming into our world, if that was intended by his death and resurrection, was not the work already done, when Peter spake these words? Why then does he speak of the *times* of restitution yet to come? ... I cannot conceive, that a restitution of man to any state which he has occupied, in flesh and blood, is worthy of the gospel plan; for it is said, of man, in his earthly nature, his *best* estate is *vanity*. But if we view the plan of the restitution of all things, which is to be accomplished in the fulness of times, a restitution or restoration from mortality and sin, to a state of immortality and righteousness, it is consistent with scripture, and worthy of God" (Ballou 1805, 179).

The resurrection, according to Alma, is a change from mortality to immortality, corruption to incorruption, when "all things shall be restored to their proper and perfect frame" (40:2, 23). Alma's argument is weakened by not applying the same strict definition of restoration to his concept of resurrection. For Alma's logic to have been consistent, he would have reasoned that mortality would be restored to mortality and corruption to corruption. Of course Alma probably believed that the resurrection was a restoration to a pre-Fall condition; if so it would only be fair to allow Corianton the same latitude with his concept of moral restoration. Thus Alma's argument would have carried little weight with many Universalists.[17]

Alma also mentions that after the resurrection and final judgment, the wicked "die as to things pertaining to things of righteousness" (Alma 40:26). Elsewhere Alma explained that after resurrection and judgment "cometh a death, even a second death, which is a spiritual death; then is a time that whosoever dieth in his sins, as to a temporal death, shall also die a spiritual death; yea, he shall die as to things pertaining unto righteousness" (12:16).

Reference to the "second death" was a favorite orthodox argument against Universalism (Hopkins 1783, 23, 46). But Universalists believed that the orthodox argument was inconsistent. Ballou, for example, argued that the orthodox interpreted "spiritual death" at the final judgment as never-ending while interpreting the "spiritual death" of Adam as temporary. Ballou said, "in respect to *spiritual death*, I believe it was all that was meant by the word, '*in* the *day* thou eatest thereof

17. In his journal for 4 February 1832 Orson Hyde used Alma's definition against a Universalist, quoting Alma 41:3-4, but the Universalist treated it lightly.

thou shalt surely die.' But, if *eternal death* was intended, there was no recovery for man" (1805, 56; see also *Universalist Magazine*, 31 July 1819, 28). Alma states that "the fall had brought upon all mankind a spiritual death as well as a temporal," but he complicates matters when he says "man became lost forever" (Alma 42:6, 9).

Another Universalist tactic against the "second death" argument was to allegorize it, contending that "the first death is the apostasy of the Jewish church," while the "second [death] ... is the apostasy of the Christian church" (*Gospel Visitant*, Mar. 1812, 211, 218; see also Winchester 1800, 129-60; *Universalist Magazine*, 25 Dec. 1819, 102-03; 13 May 1820, 183).

In his fourth major argument against Universalism, Alma explains to Corianton that the punishment of the wicked is a result of God's justice. According to Alma, Corianton was troubled "concerning the justice of God in the punishment of the sinner" and considered it an "injustice that the sinner should be consigned to a state of misery" (42:1).

Universalists and Restorationists constantly argued that endless punishment of the wicked would be incompatible with God's infinite goodness. The *Universalist Magazine* queried in 1818, "how is it possible that a being of infinite goodness should design a rational creature of his own production for a state of endless misery?" (3 July 1818, 2) "Can a wise and good God punish for no purpose," Elhanan Winchester asked in 1800, "but merely to satisfy what they call *vindictive justice*, which they say can never be satisfied to all eternity?" (1800, 2:295)

Alma argues that God is both merciful and just. "What, do ye suppose that mercy can rob justice?" Alma exclaims. "I say unto you, Nay; not one whit. If so, God would cease to be God" (42:25; also vv. 13, 22-23). Alma's argument that God would cease to be God if he was not just was typical rhetoric employed by those in Smith's day against Universalists. One Presbyterian, for example, argued in 1821: "I shall assume as a fact, that *justice* is a *natural* and *necessary* attribute of *Jehovah*; that this attribute is inexorable; that it *must* pursue its enemy, and punish its victim; that any compromise with mercy, would leave it no longer immaculate; in a word, that *Jehovah* can as soon cease to *be*, as he can cease to be *just*" (*Presbyterian Magazine*, Jan. 1821, 17).

A similar argument was made in the *Utica Christian Magazine* in 1813: "[Some] deny the necessity of an atonement ... because they say God is merciful. But he is also just. And he is as much bound to regard and maintain the dignity of his justice, as to express his mercy. ... But God can no more disregard his justice in his conduct towards his creatures, than he can deny his own name, or destroy his moral perfection. If God had saved sinners from threatened and deserved punishment

without an atonement, he would have sacrificed his justice, and have ruined his character and government" (Oct. 1813, 227-28).

In fact, according to the Book of Mormon, justice demands because of the fall of Adam that all people be condemned. Only through the atonement of Jesus Christ can mercy come into play and save humankind: "And now, the plan of mercy could not be brought about except an atonement should be made; therefore God himself atoneth for the sins of the world, to bring about the plan of mercy, to appease the demands of justice, that God might be a perfect, just God, and a merciful God also" (Alma 42:15).

The Book of Mormon's concept of the Atonement included the idea that it was infinite. "Nothing which is short of an infinite atonement ... will suffice for the sins of the world," Amulek declares to the Zoramites (Alma 34:12). Jacob explains that "because man became fallen they were cut off from the presence of the Lord. Wherefore, it must needs be an infinite atonement—save it should be an infinite atonement this corruption could not put on incorruption" (2 Ne. 9:6-7).

One objection the orthodox leveled against Universalism was the infinite nature of human sin and the need for an infinite atonement. For example, one Presbyterian argued in 1821: "Sin is an infinite evil, inasmuch, as it is a violation of an *infinite* law, rebellion against an *infinite* God. ... But as all are sinners, all are naturally under an infinite load of guilt, which the justice of God necessarily requires to be expiated."[18]

In 1820 the *Methodist Magazine* quoted well-known Bible commentator Adam Clarke on the atonement of Christ: "Nothing less than a sacrifice of *infinite merit*, can atone for the *offences of the whole world*" (May 1820, 164). And in 1825 the *Methodist Magazine* declared that the denial of "the necessity of an infinite atonement made by the death and suffering of Jesus Christ ... goes to overturn the whole system of the gospel" (Mar. 1825, 82-85).

Ballou and fellow Unitarian-Universalists rejected the orthodox concept of an infinite atonement. In his *Treatise*, Ballou put it in the strongest terms that a God who would impute "an *infinite debt* which ... I owed thousands of years before I was born" would be a monster, not characteristic of a God who is "infinitely merciful" (1805, 76). Further, Ballou argued that humans as finite beings were incapable of committing infinite sins. "If sin is *infinite* in its *nature*, there can be no

18. S. B. W[ylie], "Remarks on the Duration of Future Punishment," *Presbyterian Magazine* 1 (Jan. 1821): 18-21. The infinite atonement theory as well as its relevance to the Book of Mormon has been discussed in M. Thomas 1983, 22-23. For other anti-Universalists who argued for the necessity of an infinite atonement, see Hopkins 1783, 120-55; Wigglesworth 1729, 8-9.

one sin greater than another. The smallest offence against the good of society, is equal to *blasphemy* against the *Holy Ghost*" (ibid., 19: also 60-62). Because sin was not infinite, Ballou argued, it did not require an infinite atonement (ibid., 15-115; see also *Universalist Magazine*, 24 July 1819, 16; 15 Jan. 1820, 114-15; 15 July 1820, 10-11).

Alma further explains that sins must be repented of in this life, that this life is the "time granted unto man to repent, yea, a probationary time, a time to repent and serve God" (Alma 42:4). "The plan of redemption could not be brought about, only on conditions of repentance of men in this probationary state, yea, this preparatory state" (v. 13). Those who do not repent during mortality must suffer the wrath of a just God (vv. 24-26).

The orthodox sometimes tried to teach Universalists that God intended this life to be a "probationary state" where acts done in the flesh carry eternal consequences (see, for example, Cleaveland 1776, 10; *New-York Missionary Magazine, and Repository of Religious Intelligence*, 1802, 417). Universalists rejected this concept. The *Universalist Magazine*, for example, argued against the orthodox notion that "the whole life of man is allowed for his probationary state" and considered strange the idea that "if he becomes converted any time before he dies, if it be but one hour, or one minute, he is just as secure as if he had been converted earlier in life" (*Universalist Magazine*, 3 July 1818, 4; see also *Gospel Advocate*, 27 Aug. 1824, 262-64).

Given the on-going debate in the early nineteenth century, Alma's warning to his son was applicable to Universalists generally: "Do not risk one more offense against your God upon those points of doctrine, which ye have hitherto risked to commit sin" (Alma 41:9). Alma's discourse on salvation and the meaning of restoration must have persuaded Corianton, for he returned to the ministry (63:1-2, 10).

Like the Bible, the Book of Mormon speaks of punishment as never-ending. God's punishment is "as eternal as the life of the soul" (42:16). Lehi warned his sons that non-repentance would bring the "eternal destruction of both soul and body" (v. 22; cf. Matt. 10:28).[19] The Book of Mormon also speaks of "everlasting damnation" (12:26).

The orthodox believed that the Bible's use of such terms clearly excluded the notion of universal salvation. Universalists, on the other hand, did not interpret such scriptural terms as literally as their orthodox opponents. Winchester quoted Isaiah 34:10, which he believed was a prophecy about the destruction of Zion's enemies at

19. The orthodox liked to refer to Matthew 10:28 where Jesus advised his followers to "fear him which is able to destroy both soul and body in hell." See, for example, Hopkins 1783, 26.

Christ's coming: "The land thereof shall become burning pitch. It shall not be quenched night nor day; the smoke thereof shall go up for ever; from generation to generation it shall lie waste; none pass through it for ever and ever." He then argued: "The words *for ever* and *for ever and ever*, are used in this prophecy, as also in many other passages for times and seasons of a limited nature: for if it were not so, it would be impossible that all the prophecies should ever be fulfilled; for if this land should burn always, and the smoke of it perpetually go up *without end*—then it would be impossible for birds of any kind to lay and hatch, or even to exist there [v. 11]; neither could wild beasts meet there [v. 14]; nor thorns, nettles, and brambles grow there [v. 13]: all which things are declared, but can never take place if for ever intends without end" (1794, 1:282).

John Cleaveland attacked the apparent inconsistency with which Universalists interpreted scripture. "Where is it said in the word of God, that the words *eternal, everlasting, forever*, signify endless, neverceasing duration, when joined with *life* and *blessedness* in heaven; but *never so* when joined with *destruction, punishment*, or misery in hell?" (1776, 12-13; see also *New-York Missionary Magazine, and Repository of Religious Intelligence*, 1802, 413-15) Edward Wigglesworth (1693-1765), a professor of divinity at Harvard, drew from Matthew 25:46—"these shall go away into everlasting punishment: but the righteous into life eternal"—to argue: "We may very well suppose it is, That *Everlasting Punishment* is set in immediate Opposition to *Life Eternal*; that we may be convinced, that it must be understood in the same Extent; & not fla[t]ter our selves with false Hopes to our own Destruction, because the Words *forever & everlasting* are sometimes used in a limited Sense" (1729, 16).

The Book of Mormon describes hell as "unquenchable fire" and "a lake of fire and brimstone, which is endless torment" (Jacob 6:10; 2 Ne. 28:23; 9:16; Mosiah 2:38; 3:27; 26:27; Alma 5:52; Moro. 9:5). Opponents of Universalism often quoted Mark 9:43-48, where several references are made to the fire which is not quenched in hell (Hopkins 1783, 29; Cleaveland 1776, 9, 21; *New-York Missionary Magazine*, 1802, 409, 415-16; *Utica Christian Magazine*, Aug. 1813, 61). Hosea Ballou said that it was a "passage, made much use of, against universal holiness and happiness" but argued that the never-ending fire was "a state of great trouble of mind, in consequence of conscientious guilt ... which all the floods of corruption can never quench" (Ballou 1805, 149-50). The passage therefore did not refer to God's punishment of the wicked in eternity, Ballou argued.

Lehi's discourse to his son Jacob has a message early Universalists would have understood, though they would have rejected its logic. Lehi's argument stems from the typical orthodox notion that Universalists believe only in the mercy of God. Lehi's argument runs:

"Wherefore, the ends of the law which the Holy One hath given, unto the inflicting of the punishment which is affixed, which punishment that is affixed is in opposition to that of the happiness which is affixed, to answer the ends of the atonement—For it must needs be, that there is an opposition in all things. ... If ye shall say there is no law, ye shall also say there is no sin. If ye shall say there is no sin, ye shall also say there is no righteousness. And if there be no righteousness there be no happiness. And if there be no righteousness nor happiness there be no punishment nor misery. And if these things are not there is no God" (2 Ne. 2:10-11, 13).[20]

Universalists would have also found Lehi's discourse on agency troubling. Lehi declares that because humanity has been redeemed from the Fall, "they have become free forever, knowing good from evil; to act for themselves and not to be acted upon. ... They are free to choose liberty and eternal life, through the great mediation of all men, or to choose captivity and death, according to the captivity and power of the devil; for he seeketh that all men might be miserable like unto himself. And now my sons, I would that ye should ... choose eternal life, according to the will of his Holy spirit; and not choose eternal death, according to the will of the flesh" (2 Ne. 2:26-29).

Ballou argued against this concept in his *Treatise*: "It is certainly reasonable to suppose, that all the agency possessed by man, was given him by his Maker; and that, when God gave him this agency, it was for a certain purpose, which purpose must, finally, be every way answered, providing God is infinitely wise. And I cannot think it incorrect, to suppose, that God ever gave any creature agency to perform what he never intended should be done. Then, if any soul is made endlessly miserable, by its agency, it follows, that God gave that soul this agency, for that unhappy purpose; and if any are saved, by their agency, God gave them their agency, for that blessed end. If any wish to make a different use of agency, let them state fairly, that God gave man an agency, intending man's eternal salvation thereby; but man makes a different use of his agency, from what God intended, whereby the gracious designs of Deity are forever lost!" (1805, 139)

Universalists would have also objected to the Book of Mormon's position on the carnal nature of humanity after the Fall. For example, King Benjamin declares to his people that "natural man is an enemy to God, and has been from the fall of Adam" (Mosiah 3:19). Humankind by the Fall "had become carnal, sensual, and devilish, by nature" (Alma 42:10). In 1819 the *Universalist Magazine* rejected the orthodox opinion that the Fall "had so entirely and so radically metamorphosed

20. M. Thomas (1984) has also seen anti-Universalism in this passage.

the nature of man, as a moral being, that all men are naturally opposed to all good, and greedily in love with all evil." "If mankind are altogether naturally inclined to evil," the *Universalist* asked, "... how it happens that there is so much goodness practiced in the world, and so little evil when compared with the good?" (*Universalist Magazine*, 23 Oct. 1819, 65-66)

Conclusions

From contemporary testimony and scriptural analysis, it is clear that anti-Universalistic rhetoric was part of the Book of Mormon's message. The Book of Mormon not only presented a generally orthodox theological position but also explicitly attacked the notion of universal salvation. Universalists or those who held Universalist beliefs—such as Asael Smith, Joseph Smith, Sr., Martin Harris, Joseph Knight, Sr., and Eli Gilbert—responded to the Book of Mormon's message by renouncing their former beliefs and (except for Asael Smith, who died in 1830) joined the church Joseph Smith founded.

It was perhaps the strong anti-Universalist stance of the Book of Mormon which accounts for some of the adverse reactions Smith received in response to his February 1832 vision of the three degrees of glory. While working on the revision of the New Testament, Smith and Sidney Rigdon received a vision which explained that all but a few would be assigned to one of three heavens depending on their performance in mortality (D&C 76). The revelation reads in part: "And this is the gospel, the glad tidings, ... that he came into the world, even Jesus, to be crucified for the world, and to bear the sins of the world, and to sanctify the world, and to cleanse it from all unrighteousness; that through him all might be saved whom the Father had put into his power and made by him; who glorifies the Father, and saves all the works of his hands, except those sons of perdition who deny the Son after the Father has revealed him" (vv. 40-43). This revelation was easily recognized as a modified Restorationist position and to some appeared to be a major reversal in doctrine. Not surprisingly therefore, Smith received some immediate resistance to the new doctrine from within the Mormon community.[21]

As stated at the outset, the primary goal of this essay is not determining the Book of Mormon's origin, but the question arises of whether ancient American cultures could have debated Universalism in a manner that would have been meaningful to those in early nineteenth-century America. If one allows the possibility of Alma and

21. The adverse reaction of many early Mormons, including a majority of the Geneseo branch in New York, is discussed in Rathbone 1987.

Amulek discussing Universalism in America nearly a century before Christ, the conscientious reader will be struck by their use of arguments based on the same New Testament passages on which the nineteenth-century debate centered.[22] In addition, the Book of Mormon not only perpetuates misrepesentations of anti-Universalist rhetoric but historicizes them by having ancient Universalists defend these very misperceptions (e.g., Alma 11:34-35).

That rhetorical and historical criticism may not always support traditional views has been recognized by New Testament scholars. "It is not clear," writes Burton L. Mack, that rhetorical criticism "will or should support traditional Christian views about the message of the New Testament and its relevance for instruction, faith, and piety" (Mack 1990, 101-102). Likewise rhetorical criticism may also challenge traditional assumptions about the Book of Mormon, but it does help researchers understand the book's message in its nineteenth-century context. It is doubtful that a study of ancient American cultures would produce a similar context for understanding this central theological focus of the Book of Mormon. The degree to which Smith adapted his narrative to the concerns of his modern audience is a question each reader must answer for him- or herself.

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22. Indeed, B. H. Roberts's attempts to explain the Book of Mormon's use of biblical material as Joseph Smith's effort to express his translation in the best language he could command seems inadequate in light of Alma's and Amulek's not only quoting New Testament passages but building their arguments from them in a manner similar to opponents of Universalism in Smith's day (see Roberts 1907-12, 1:255-74). Mormon writer Blake T. Ostler has recently suggested an expanded role for Joseph Smith as translator to inspired redactor, suggesting that Smith was led to make midrash-like expansions to the ancient source (1987, 66-123). This admits the modern origin of at least some of the material in the Book of Mormon while maintaining its antiquity.

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CHAPTER 3

A Rhetorical Approach to the Book of Mormon: Rediscovering Nephite Sacramental Language

Mark D. Thomas

Much contemporary research on the Book of Mormon focuses on historical claims at the expense of understanding the book's message. A few researchers have suggested setting aside historical claims in order to focus on interpretation. Justification for this is based on the fact that the Book of Mormon presents a universal, providential history that transcends any particular history and points to a universal path of personal and social salvation. Yet the book's message finds expression in an idiom that cannot be fully interpreted outside of history. All literature to a greater or lesser degree is attached to history. Therefore there needs to be some mediation between textual interpretation and historical setting.

The claim for an ancient origin of the Book of Mormon is ultimately a claim for religious authority, but in the final analysis the book's authority cannot depend on its age. If the Book of Mormon's message is profound, that alone should be sufficient reason for serious analysis and dialogue. If the book is not worth reading, no claim to antiquity can salvage it. So I propose interpreting this sacred narrative in the historical and literary context in which it emerged. Yet I wish to appeal to history as an interpretive aid. The historical setting to which I will appeal is the original 1830 audience. I will examine the manner in which Book of Mormon rhetoric addresses this audience.

I contend that for interpretive purposes it is more important to understand the book's audience than its author. The Book of Mormon Title Page makes a critical rhetorical claim: the text is an *ancient* document addressing a *modern* audience. The book spends a great deal

of time focusing on events surrounding its discovery. Prophecies of events after 1830 are rushed over rather quickly and are addressed from the perspective of the audience in 1830 (for example, 2 Ne. 28; Morm. 8).

In fact, the book is so interested in this audience that several characters speak of that time in the present tense and address the audience in the second person "you." Frequent commentary interprets the narratives for the benefit of this nineteenth-century audience. When Jesus appears he commands his Nephite listeners to record his sermon for the sake of latter-day readers. Rhetorical criticism seeks to understand how a work addresses its audience and is a key to understanding the book's message.[1] In fact, the Book of Mormon states explicitly that this is the preferred interpretive approach. Only the latter-day audience could fully interpret the prophecies of that time.

Another reason to interpret the Book of Mormon in a modern context is the language of the book—the language of Joseph Smith. Language evolves over time, and certain words and phrases have lost subtleties of meaning since the early 1800s. To ignore these subtle differences in language is to risk misinterpretation. The book does not easily lend itself to interpretation based on any ancient language in the absence of the original gold plates or an understanding of "reformed Egyptian." But any appeal to the antiquity of the text must begin with the nineteenth century simply because that is the language of the text itself. A rhetorical approach is thus not one among many approaches; it is one of the starting points for other interpretations, regardless of when the book was written.

An additional reason to begin with the nineteenth-century audience is because the Book of Mormon utilizes nineteenth-century literary forms and theological categories. This use of modern forms will be an immediate focus of this study which examines the form and meaning of the Lord's Supper in the Book of Mormon.

There is also a broader reason to interpret the Book of Mormon in the setting of Joseph Smith's day. Interpretive theory demands some historical setting. Certainly there are those who deny any importance to historical setting because they believe interpretation reflects the person who interprets or because the text is self-contained. But to accept subjectivity in interpretation does not imply arbitrariness. And Wayne Booth has taught us that an author cannot choose whether to use rhetorical heightening. The only choice is the type of rhetoric to be used. If fidelity to the text is claimed as a virtue and if one of the tasks of interpretation is to grasp original meaning, then history is important.

1. Good introductions to rhetorical criticism are Booth 1961 and Corbett 1969.

Emphasizing strategic rhetoric aimed at a specific audience helps avoid the distortion and inattention often given to texts which are held as authoritative and holy. Scripture is often not allowed to differ from what the contemporary reader believes, and the text becomes little more than the projected voice of the reader. What appears to be respect is a smothering of the text's voice. Letting the text speak requires attention, sincerity, and integrity.

Once we listen to the dialogue between text and original audience, we are in a better position to grasp the universal message of the book. We must be careful to avoid equating the meaning of a text with what its audience says it means. Even the audience is liable to misinterpretation. It is the dialogue between text and audience that is the interpretive aid. For the Book of Mormon all history points to Jesus as savior of the world. This salvation includes conquest of death and guilt, and establishment of community. The text demands therefore a leap beyond historical circumstance and a narrow historical audience. The Book of Mormon's history symbolically expresses a universal understanding of existence, and the ambiguities and limits of a particular passage are conquered by their transcendent, symbolic quality. But the text must first be "translated" from its "foreign" tongue before the contemporary audience can grasp the universality of its symbolism.

The Book of Mormon's attention to the sacrament of the Lord's Supper provides an opportunity for testing and elaborating this rhetorical approach. The rhetorical significance of the Lord's Supper becomes apparent after Jesus administers the sacrament. He continues: "And I give you these commandments, because of the disputations which hath been among you beforetime" (3 Ne. 18:34). This passage focuses the larger tension embedded in the Book of Mormon's rhetorical claims about itself—an ancient document speaking to a modern audience. Christ could not be speaking about Nephite disagreements, since Nephites are being introduced to the sacrament for the first time. The voice of Christ may be addressing Nephites, but the text is anticipating disputations among its nineteenth-century audience. To understand these authoritative pronouncements on the sacraments then, we must recover the disagreements, language, and liturgical forms of Joseph Smith's day. We can then construct the characteristic way in which the text addresses these matters. This understanding of the nineteenth-century conversation is the first step in considering the continuing relevance for a twentieth-century audience. The liturgical symbolism in the Book of Mormon expresses what it considers a universal understanding of existence.

The Nephites were instructed that their worship should be "after the manner of the workings of the spirit, and by the power of the Holy

Ghost: for as the power of the Holy Ghost led them whether to preach, or exhort, or to pray, or to supplicate, or to sing, even so it was done" (Moro. 6:9).[2] Those who administered the sacraments were to perform them by the power of the Holy Ghost (Mosiah 18:12-13, Moro. 3:4). Most prayers in the Book of Mormon seem to be spontaneous expressions of the spirit. The evil Zoramites all offer the same uniform prayer (Alma 31). The spontaneous and righteous prayer of Alma is juxtaposed to the Zoramite prayer. The implication is that prayer should be a spontaneous expression of the soul in contrast to the fixed and dead prayer of the Zoramites.

The liturgical prayers themselves offer evidence of this same tradition of spontaneity and spirit. The baptismal prayer of Alma at the waters of Mormon appears to be spontaneous. It is much longer than the baptismal prayer in Moroni. The wording is entirely different, although the two baptismal prayers reflect some common theological themes. The same variability can be found in the two eucharistic prayers in Moroni.

> O God, the Eternal Father, we ask thee in the name of thy Son Jesus Christ, to bless and sanctify this bread to the souls of all those who partake of it, that they may eat in the remembrance of the body of thy Son, and witness unto thee, O God the Eternal Father, that they are willing to take upon them the name of thy Son, and always remember him, and keep his commandments which he hath given them, that they may always have his spirit to be with them. Amen (Moro. 4:3).

> O God, the Eternal Father, we ask thee, in the name of thy Son Jesus Christ, to bless and sanctify this wine to the souls of all those who drink of it, that they may do it in remembrance of the blood of thy Son, which was shed for them, that they may witness unto thee, O God the Eternal Father, that they do always remember him, that they may have his spirit to be with them. Amen (Moro. 5:2).

The covenant sections of the two prayers differ. In the prayer over the bread obedience is required in order to have the spirit. This element is missing in the prayer over the wine. There are theological parallels between these two prayers and King Benjamin's covenant in Mosiah 5, as well as to instructions regarding the sacrament given by Christ in 3 Nephi 18 (cf. Welch 1986). But the conditions and wording of the covenant vary. For example, in 3 Nephi obedience is promised in taking the wine, and the bread signifies remembrance only. These

2. Unless otherwise indicated, all versification is from the current LDS edition and all quotes are from the 1830 edition.

are representative examples of variety and spontaneity in the Book of Mormon liturgy.

But after Christ's appearance a different liturgical concern arises—divine authority. In 3 Nephi 18:16 Christ states how to administer the sacraments: "And as I have prayed among you even so shall ye pray in my church, among my people which do repent and are baptized in my name. Behold I am the light; I have set an example for you." The eucharistic prayer in Moroni 4:1 is introduced with an eye to establishing a uniform liturgical pattern: "The manner of their elders and priests administering the flesh and blood of Christ unto the church; and they administered it according to the commandments of Christ; wherefore we know the manner to be true." The proper manner includes the recitation of set prayers.

In 3 Nephi Christ teaches the Nephites "the words which ye shall say" in the baptismal prayer (11:24-25). The fixing of sacramental forms in Moroni did not stop the evolution in Mormon sacraments. We find in Mormonism a history of transformation in baptism, the temple endowment, and the eucharist. To trace the details of this history would depart from the objective of this essay. I simply wish to make the point that spontaneity or modification by the spirit and fixed forms of authority are still competing and unresolved ideals in Mormon liturgical piety and thought. Mormons claim to have the true forms of worship, yet they also claim the power of new revelation to modify the forms to meet changing needs. These two perspectives are not necessarily incompatible. But in the Book of Mormon text and in Mormon thought generally, the two competing principles have yet to be systematically resolved.

In an important sense this tension within the Book of Mormon between spontaneous and fixed forms recapitulates various voices in a larger nineteenth-century conversation about the proper mode of administering sacraments. In the early nineteenth century, a number of churches followed the ideal that prayer (including eucharistic prayers) should allow for the spirit to guide the words. This was the tradition among the free churches, including Congregationalists, Baptists, and Alexander Campbell's Christians. Other more liturgical churches used fixed prayers and a lengthy and eloquent liturgy for the Lord's Supper.

One way to account for the liturgy in the Book of Mormon would be to propose that the Book of Mormon presents a position of mediation between the fixed and spontaneous liturgy in the nineteenth century. This would be in line with the thesis of Brigham Young University historian Marvin S. Hill. He suggests that the theology of the Book of Mormon as a whole can be characterized as a theology of mediation between opposing positions (1989, 21-22). Thus he believes that its theological stance regarding human nature is a middling posi-

tion between Calvinism and Arminianism, and its view of the godhead is a cross between belief in one and many gods.

I would describe the impulse embodied in the Book of Mormon in somewhat different terms. For me the term mediation unduly emphasizes compromise. The Book of Mormon is always a rigorous advocate. It advocates believer's baptism and condemns anyone who advocates the baptism of infants. The same is true of its position on Universalism. In response to the two examples cited by Hill, I have argued elsewhere that the Book of Mormon advocates conservative Arminianism and defends a trinitarian position on the godhead (Thomas 1989; Vogel 1990). But this advocacy should not obscure the Book of Mormon's commitment to an ongoing conversation or disputation with its own particular perspective.

The nineteenth-century controversy over fixed versus spontaneous prayers reveals an unusual position in the Book of Mormon. We have, as noted, a move from spontaneous to fixed prayers by the end of the book. This is one instance where the thesis of mediation is an appropriate explanation. But the thesis of mediation hides the novel position presented by the book. Prayers in the Book of Mormon are fixed because they rest on the authoritative commands of Jesus. Even Lutherans, Episcopalians, and Methodists modified their fixed eucharistic prayers to match a changing understanding of the sacrament. What is unique about the Book of Mormon is the presentation of a lost scriptural authority on the liturgy. There were various claims among early nineteenth-century Protestants regarding proper prayers and mode of administering the sacraments. It was a commonly held belief among Protestants that all sacraments must ultimately derive from scriptural precedent. But I know of no nineteenth-century work that made authoritative and exemplary claims regarding the sacraments by an appeal to the discovery of the lost prayers and instruction of Jesus. In addition, the sacrament prayers interpret the meaning of the sacramental ritual. Fixing the prayers is therefore the Book of Mormon's way of providing a final authoritative interpretation.

Consideration of the *form* of sacramental prayers focuses the usefulness of a nineteenth-century context for understanding the Book of Mormon's theological perspective. The Book of Mormon contains a post-Reformation, British or American liturgical form for the Lord's Supper. Most nineteenth-century religionists were engaging on some level a question about the importance of consecration and thanksgiving in the ritual of the Lord's Supper. Some agreed that consecration, or sanctification through God's spirit, of the elements was a crucial part of the liturgy. Others used a prayer of thanksgiving only. Still others contained both. It was typical for free churches to offer a separate prayer for the wine and the bread.

Only a few examples of spontaneous prayers have survived since they were lost to the historical record. In 1786 the New York and Philadelphia Synod of the Presbyterian Church drafted a set of suggested patterns, combining a prayer of thanksgiving with a consecration on the elements into one prayer, but because of the bias against set prayers, they were never published. This prayer is quite lengthy. I will quote only the main headings that reveal its literary form: "O thou Eternal God! Father, Son, and Holy Spirit: We adore thee as the fountain of being and blessedness ... We thank thee for this holy ordinance. We devoutly pray for thy blessing upon us, in our attendance at this feast of love. Bless, O Lord! these elements of bread and wine. May we receive them as the symbols of the broken body and shed blood of our Lord and Saviour JESUS CHRIST. May we by faith eat the flesh and drink the blood of the Son of God. Let the cup of blessing which we bless, be to us the communion of the blood of CHRIST; let this bread which we break, be to us the communion of the body of CHRIST ... Join us to thee in a new and everlasting covenant, and make us one spirit with thyself. May thy continual grace further and assist us in the performance of every duty of the Christian life. Seal unto us the remission of our sins, the gift of the Holy Ghost, and the promise of eternal life" (Ramsey and Koedel 1976).

(I will refer again to this prayer when discussing eating by faith the blood and body of Christ, and when examining covenantal thought.)

Twentieth-century prayers for the Disciples of Christ are probably based on the spontaneous prayers that preceded them. The Disciples have separate prayers for the bread and the wine, and both prayers involve consecration. For example, the prayer on the bread reads in part: "Mercifully grant that thy Holy Spirit and Word may sanctify us and this bread, which thou hast given to be the symbol of the body of our Lord, that it may be for us spiritual food, that by faith we may feed in our hearts on him who is our only Saviour and Lord." Eucharistic prayers for the descent of the spirit upon the bread and wine or the congregation were common in the Reformed Churches (White 1989, 68). The December 1822 edition of *The Evangelical Witness* also refers to the recommended Presbyterian prayer as being of this form.

Consecration can also be found in the Episcopal "epiclesis," which is a prayer for the descent of the spirit upon the tokens of the body and blood or upon the congregation. The epiclesis was important in the British Anglican tradition. The 1790 American version which was used in Smith's day—and likely the prayer used in St. John's Episcopal Church in Canandaigua, New York, near Smith's home—reads as follows: "And we most humbly beseech thee, o merciful Father, to hear us; and, of thy almighty goodness, vouchsafe to bless and sanctify, with thy

Word and Holy Spirit, these thy gifts and creatures of bread and wine; that we, receiving them according to thy Son our Saviour Jesus Christ's holy institution, in remembrance of his death and passion, may be partakers of his most blessed Body and Blood" (Wigan 1964).

The phrase used for consecration of the elements is "bless and sanctify" by the descent of the spirit. The wording of this particular edition reflects a rejection of the real presence of Christ's body and blood in the elements. The elements are to be taken "in remembrance" only. The lost prayers of consecration of the free churches may have been influenced by the Episcopal prayer. The prayers in the Book of Mormon are compact, concise, and meaningful, and reflect an already existing tradition. It is my belief that the Book of Mormon model was likely from a traditional spontaneous prayer from these so-called "free churches." The Book of Mormon like the free churches had two separate prayers, whereas the Episcopal church had one consecration prayer for both elements. Neither does the Book of Mormon contain the lengthy liturgy of the Episcopal church. And as I have already argued, the Book of Mormon shows signs of a spontaneous tradition which is frozen near the end of the book to establish authority.

But despite these arguable influences from the spontaneous forms of the free churches, the phrases "bless and sanctify" and "in remembrance" which are shared by Book of Mormon prayers and the Episcopal epiclesis place the Book of Mormon liturgy within a post-Reformation tradition from Great Britain and America.[3] Tracing the history and origins of this Anglo-American form of eucharist prayers makes clearer Book of Mormon indebtedness to a post-Reformation tradition and helps tease out related issues concerning the nature and purpose of the Lord's Supper in the Book of Mormon.

In general prayers and worship in New Testament Christianity were based on Jewish forms (Brilioth 1930, 18-26, 38-39; Lehmann 1961, 3-36). Thus the basic concept in every phrase in the Lord's prayer by Jesus can be found in roughly contemporary Jewish prayers (Perrin

3. Hugh Nibley (1989, 415-28) has tried to prove the antiquity of the prayers in the Book of Mormon by comparing them to the Gospel of the Twelve Apostles published by Revillout in 1904, in which the elements are blessed. There are several ancient references to a Gospel of the Twelve Apostles, but the one quoted by Nibley is, according to Montague Rhodes James, "a collection of sixteen Coptic fragments ... of late date, arbitrarily grouped under a fictitious title" (*Apocryphal* 1924, 10; Hennecke and Schneemelcher 1963, 262-71). Thus Nibley tries to prove that the Book of Mormon is ancient by using a late document, then hopes to demonstrate (in the face of contrary opinion from competent scholars) that the late document must be ancient because it matches the Book of Mormon. One is left to wonder how Nibley would account for the fact that the closer we get to the time and place in which the Book of Mormon appeared in 1830, the closer we get to the theological and literary parallels to the Book of Mormon.

1974, 299; Crossan 1991, 293-94). There has been intense debate in the last one hundred years over whether the Last Supper was a Jewish Passover (as the synoptic gospels claim) or a simple meal (as the Gospel of John claims). Those who believe that the Lord's Supper contains a historical core now generally agree that the Last Supper occurred within a Passover setting even if it did not precisely follow the outline of Passover events (Von Allmen 1969, 10; Barclay 1982).

Determining a historical core requires sorting through the accounts of the Lord's Supper in the New Testament. The New Testament narratives describing the institution of the Lord's Supper are known as the "institution narratives." There is general agreement that the regular sharing of common meals dates back to the historical Jesus. The challenge becomes determining how much of the institution narratives, which were liturgical texts for early Christians, is historically accurate. Liturgical interests and concerns seem to have molded the accounts (Reumann 1985, 7-23; Heron 1983, 9-16). There are two separate traditions for the institution narratives: the first is in Mark 14 and Matthew 26, the second Luke 22 and 1 Corinthians 11. Some scholars combine the common elements in both traditions and conclude that this is the historical core (Heron 1983). Others conclude that "this is my body" and "this is my blood" are the only historical phrases that we can be certain are historical (Bultmann 1955; Perrin 1974). Still others argue that the institution narratives are not from the historical Jesus at all (Crossan 1991, 360-72).

But scholars agree that the earliest eucharist centered around thanksgiving prayers. Note how Jesus' prayer is described as one of thanks: "And as they did eat, Jesus took bread, and blessed, and break it, and gave it to them: and said, Take, eat: this is my body. And he took the cup, and when He had given thanks, he gave it to them: and they all drank of it" (Mark 14:22-23).[4] The Jewish evening blessing, also spoken at Passover, was a thanksgiving prayer. A first-century rabbi recorded the wording of the blessing over the cup: "blessed be He who has sanctified the Sabbath day" (Jeremias 1955, 21-22, 58-60;

4. According to Matthew, Jesus took the bread and "blessed *it*." The "it" is in italics. Nineteenth-century biblical commentaries knew that the translators of the King James Version added italicized words to indicate that the word was not in the original text. The parallel of "bless" over the bread and "thanks" over the wine in both Matthew and Mark indicate that the "it" was an inappropriate addition. The Revised English Bible provides a more accurate translation: "Jesus took the bread, and having said the blessing. ..." The knowledge of this questionable translation helped fuel early nineteenth-century debate over whether the proper eucharistic prayer was a consecration or a prayer of thanks (Clarke 1824, 5:251). The Book of Mormon repeats "and blessed it" in the 3 Nephi 18 narrative among Nephites. This fact along with the form of the prayer itself indicates that Joseph Smith believed the original prayer was a consecration of the elements.

Heron 1983, 25). Similar prayers have been used in Judaism down to the present day.

Joachim Jeremias has defended the historicity of the Last Supper by demonstrating that it was a Passover meal, indicated by the Jewish custom of interpreting the meaning of the bread and wine, a "blessing" pronounced over both the bread and wine, the reclining position for eating Passover, and the singing of hymns. For a Jew and an early Christian to bless a meal or to say a blessing over the meal meant to bless God for the wine and bread. A "blessing" was actually a thanksgiving to God. A later misunderstanding of the text led Greeks to misinterpret the blessing in the institution narratives to mean a consecration of the elements (Heron 1983, 63, 113-21; Lehmann 1961, 59-69). This misunderstanding was to have far-reaching consequences in the history of the liturgy.

Richard Anderson, a professor of religion at Brigham Young University, concludes that the gospel texts require us to accept the description of prayers over the bread and wine as prayers of thanksgiving (1990, 29). This creates problems for Anderson, because he defends the Book of Mormon eucharistic prayers as being in the original form outlined by Jesus. In a curious twist of logic, Anderson argues that the eucharistic prayers of thanksgiving were not intended as exemplary for future eucharistic services.[5]

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5. The methodology proposed by Anderson is flawed. He intends to demonstrate that the prayer in the Book of Mormon restores the "ancient covenant forms" of the early Christian sacramental prayers as established by Jesus. But since the evidence in the biblical text itself, in Judaism, and in earliest Christianity points to a different form, he cannot reach his conclusion by examining the evidence of the form itself. He therefore turns to New Testament theological discussions to discover the literary form. Liturgical forms and theology are certainly related, because literary form often reveals theological understanding. But it is inappropriate to attempt to derive a literary form from random theological discussions. Anderson claims that every major theological point concerning the eucharist in the New Testament is reflected in the form of the Book of Mormon prayer. We can demonstrate inadequacy of the methodology by applying it to the baptismal prayer in Matthew 28, where the disciples are told to baptize "in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost." Theological discussions regarding baptism in the New Testament center around issues of repentance, death and resurrection, and so forth. If we were trying to ascertain the liturgical form from the theological discussions, we would be nowhere near the prayer in Matthew 28.

But let us assume for the sake of argument that Anderson's methodology is appropriate. We could then compare a summary of the major eucharistic themes in the New Testament with Book of Mormon prayers. We could choose any number of competent scholars to present such a summary of New Testament eucharistic thought; our conclusion would not differ greatly. Let us take a recent important contribution in the work of John Dominic Crossan. Crossan's work has been praised as a balanced, fair, and important contribution to the subject of the historical Jesus. By combining historical, anthropological, and literary tools to analyze the New Testament text, Crossan concludes that there are several distinct stages of eucharistic thought in first-century Christianity.

The word used to describe the Lord's Supper beginning in the second century was "eucharistia," which means "thanksgiving," and the element of thanksgiving has never been lost from the liturgy. The earliest written eucharistic prayer is from the Didache or Teaching of the Twelve Apostles. According to Helmut Koester it was written in Syria near the end of the first century. It actually contains two sets of eucharistic prayers. John Dominic Crossan argues that the prayer in Didache 10 is the more primitive, since it contains a title for Jesus as the child (or servant) of God. Joachim Jeremias contends that this title goes back to the earliest Palestinian Christian community. Aaron Milavec states that the prayers in the Didache parallel the oldest Jewish prayers in both ritual and rhetoric (Crossan 1991, 360-67). The eucharistic prayer in chapter 10 begins: "We give thanks to you, holy Father, for your holy name which you have enshrined in our hearts, and for the knowledge and faith and immortality which you made known to us through your child Jesus; glory to you for evermore. ..."

The prayer over the cup in chapter 9 of the Didache is: "We give thanks to you, our Father, for the holy vine of your child David, which you made known to us through your child Jesus; glory to you for evermore." The prayer over the bread is in the same form: "We give thanks to you, our Father, for the life and knowledge which you made [known] to us through your child Jesus; glory to you for evermore. As this broken bread was scattered over the mountains and when brought together became one, so let your Church be brought together from the ends of the earth into your kingdom; for yours are the glory and the power through Jesus Christ for evermore" (Jasper and Cuming 1980, 14-16).

Justin Martyr describes the second-century liturgy used by Christians as a ritual of thanksgiving. He states that the sacrament was presented to the presiding brother who "utters a lengthy thanksgiving because the Father has judged us worthy of these gifts. When the

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First was the radical social equality expressed in the common meal. (Paul continued this theme in his discussion of eucharistic communion in 1 Corinthians 10.) A second early eucharistic theme is apocalyptic, evident in the prayers of the Didache and in 1 Corinthians 11:26. The Lord's Supper is taken in anticipation of the coming of the Lord. It is apparent that these earliest eucharistic themes are not reflected in the Book ofMormon prayers. The Mormon prayers are between the individual and God, and reflect no social content. And they contain nothing apocalyptic in nature. If Anderson's methodology were viable, we would be forced to conclude that Book of Mormon prayers do not fit the setting of the first generation of Christianity. But Anderson does not rigorously or consistently apply his own methodology. His approach is actually little more than finding prooftexts and interpreting them to match his thesis. An important contribution of Anderson's work is its realization that the wording of John 14 may have influenced the wording in the covenant section of the Book of Mormon prayers.

prayer of thanksgiving is ended, all the people present give their assent with an 'Amen'" (Fabing 1986, 158-59). The eucharistic prayer of the third-century priest Hippolytus also began in the form of thanksgiving: "We thank you, O God, through your beloved child Jesus Christ. ... We thank you for deeming us worthy to stand before you and serve you" (Fabing 1986, 160-61). Hence we have a consistent body of evidence, only a small portion summarized here, indicating that the original eucharist was a prayer of thanksgiving to God. The form of the Jewish Passover prayers, the descriptions of the form in the institution narratives, and the earliest Christian eucharistic prayers unanimously support this conclusion.

But by the time of Hippolytus, a second kind of prayer derived from Hellenistic religions was beginning to be added to the liturgy. The epiclesis—a prayer for the descent of the spirit—would eventually find its way into the Christian liturgy. We may see the beginnings of liturgical requests for descent of the spirit as early as the second century, but the true epiclesis does not appear until the fourth century in eastern prayers (Heron 1983, 64-66; Brilioth 1930, 60-64). In the east popular piety tended to find expression in materializing the presence of Christ in the elements themselves. In the Clementine liturgy we find: "send down thy Holy-Spirit, the witness of the suffering of the Lord Jesus, upon this sacrifice, that he may make this bread the body of thy Christ, and this cup the blood of thy Christ; that all who partake thereof may be confirmed in piety, may receive remission of their sins." Cyril (a fourth-century bishop in Jerusalem) repeats this notion in his lectures and adds: "for whatsoever the Holy Spirit touched is sanctified and changed."

An example of the use of both a modified form of the institution narratives as well as an epiclesis can be found in the Liturgy of St. James (ca. 400 C.E.): "he [Jesus at the Last Supper] gave thanks, blessed and sanctified it, filled it with the Holy Spirit, and gave it to his holy and blessed disciples and apostles, saying, *And he puts it down, saying aloud*: 'Drink from it, all of you; this is my blood of the new covenant which is shed and distributed for you and for many for the forgiveness of sins' ... send down, Master, your all-holy Spirit himself upon us and upon these holy gifts set before you, (aloud) that he may come upon them, and by his holy and good and glorious coming may sanctify them, and make this bread the holy body of Christ, People: Amen. And this cup the precious blood of Christ, People: Amen."[6]

Some western churches did not ultimately adopt this eastern version of the eucharistic prayer. The epiclesis was replaced in the Roman

6. For specific liturgical prayers, see Jasper and Cuming 1975; Thompson 1961.

Mass by the Quam Oblationem. This is a prayer requesting the transformation of the elements. Some of the liturgies of the continental reformers contain prayers for the spirit which were distinct in wording or form from eastern epiclesis (Jasper and Cuming 1975, 111-89).

But Bishop Cranmer of the Church of England was influenced by eastern eucharistic prayers. He rearranged wording from these eastern prayers in creating the epiclesis in the 1549 Book of Common Prayer for the Church of England: "O God heavenly father ... we beseech thee; and with thy holy spirite and worde, vouchsafe to bl+esse and sanc+tifie these thy gyftes, and creatures of bread and wyne, that they maie be unto us the bodye and bloude of thy moste derely beloved sonne Jesus Christe. ..." Cranmer apparently took the phrase "bless and sanctify" from the St. James narrative quoted above and made it part of the epiclesis. By returning to the fourth-century epiclesis, Cranmer believed he was restoring the original kind of prayer spoken by Jesus.

The inclusion of the epiclesis had important consequences for the Christian ritual. With an emphasis on consecration, it is natural to focus in turn on the nature and purpose of the elements of the eucharist. During Cranmer's time many bishops believed in Luther's doctrine that the real presence of the body and blood were in the elements. There were also those who believed in the Catholic doctrine of transubstantiation. This latter doctrine proposed that the elements are changed into the "essence" of the body and blood and only maintain the "accidents" of bread or wine (color, shape, and so forth).

Cranmer's position concerning the elements in the eucharists is a matter of considerable debate. Some claim he followed Zwingli, others Calvin. Zwingli believed that no external element could purify the soul. The sacraments were a seal of the covenant (a notion that would continue into the nineteenth century). Zwingli's emphasis was on the community receiving the elements. Luther was more traditional in focusing on the elements as literally the body and blood of Christ. Calvin sought a compromise position. He believed that the body of Christ was in heaven and not in the elements. Yet material objects impart spiritual things, and the soul can partake of the body and blood of Christ through the descent of the spirit.

Whether Cranmer resembled Zwingli or Calvin, he certainly rejected the notion of real presence in the elements during his later years. Still the elements were more than mere symbols for Cranmer. The souls of those who partook were blessed with the full effects of the Atonement as if they had virtually taken the body and blood. Hence Cranmer's position has been labeled "virtualist" (Stone 1909; Brooks 1965).

Whatever his personal beliefs, Cranmer wrote the epiclesis and

other portions of the British liturgy in a manner vague enough to allow moderate interpretations of real presence in the elements. This was a political move designed to win over those who disagreed with his position. In the next edition of the Book of Common Prayer, Cranmer modified the epiclesis following the suggestion of Martin Bucer to more explicitly reject any suggestion of real presence. The elements were a memorial—to be taken only "in remembrance" of the body and blood (following the institution narratives). Bucer like Calvin believed that only the soul partook of the body and blood. The body and blood were not in the elements themselves.

These trends deemphasizing a literal interpretation of the elements were underscored when the British tradition moved to America. In 1688 an internal schism forced some of the most capable bishops out of the British clergy when they refused allegiance to James II. These "Nonjurors" influenced the thought that led to the American edition of the Book of Common Prayer (Stone 1909, 474-86). They believed that the invocation of the holy spirit upon the elements causes the faithful to receive the body and blood of Christ in some mysterious fashion. Thus in the 1790 American epiclesis, which the Book of Mormon prayers echo, the elements are taken in remembrance and not as the real body and blood.

Protestantism developed various ways of understanding this spiritual eating of body and blood. The importance of this notion was underscored by the discussion in John 6, where Jesus declared himself to be the bread from heaven. At one end of the spectrum was the belief that the notion of eating Christ's body was purely symbolic. But most churches searched for a more substantive way of conceiving how the participant partakes of the body and blood of Christ. The distance between pure symbolism and a notion of some kind of spiritual partaking of Christ's body can be found by attending to a recurring language which emerges about the "soul" partaking of the flesh and blood of Jesus. We saw an example of this in the 1786 Presbyterian prayer quoted above.

The 1534 First Confession of Basle represents Swiss theology, characteristic of Bucer, regarding the soul's nourishment through the eucharist. According to the Confession, "Christ Himself is the food of believing souls to eternal life, and that our souls through true faith in the crucified Christ are given the flesh and blood of Christ as food and drink, so that we, the members of His body our only Head, may live in Him, and that He may live in us. ... But we do not adore Christ in the signs of bread and wine, which we commonly call the Sacraments of the body and blood of Christ, but in heaven at the right hand of God the Father, whence He will come to judge the living and the dead" (Stone 1909, 48). Zwingli likewise emphasized "the spiritual feeding of

the soul on Christ" in conjunction with the eucharist. By this he meant nothing more than the soul exercising faith. The elements were a mere memorial. For Calvin the soul partaking of body and blood was the quickening of the spiritual life by the Holy Ghost (Stone 1909, 51-54).

The British Reformation also adopted this language figuring the soul's feast in the Lord's Supper. A minority of British Protestants believed that consecrating the elements brought the spirit, which in turn transformed the elements into the body and blood of Christ. For these Christians, it was *through* the elements that the effects of the Atonement came to the soul. The emblems were vehicles for grace and spirit. However, a more common belief portrayed the elements as an outward sign of a spiritual nourishment effected by the reception of spirit to soul.

American Episcopalians likewise emphasized that the elements were taken "in remembrance" only and similarly adopted the language of the soul partaking of the body and blood of Christ by the descent of the spirit. Daniel Waterland was one prominent eighteenth-century liturgical theologian whose work influenced American Episcopalians in the nineteenth century. Waterland rejected the real presence in the elements; the elements were taken in remembrance only. But Waterland believed that the spirit descended on the audience, and the spirit transmitted the effects of the Atonement. The presence of Christ is not his natural body. Rather, according to Waterland, "the real presence of Christ's invisible power and grace [are] in and with the elements of bread and wine as to convey spiritual and real effects to the souls of such as duly receive them. ... to eat and drink spiritually is a figurative expression, and signifies the feeding upon Christ's body with our heart by faith. ... the consecrated elements are both called and made the body and blood of Christ so verily indeed to all intents and purposes as to convey to the faithful receiver whatever grace and blessing Christ hath annexed to the due performance of those holy rites which he hath ordained as pledges of His love and for our joy and comfort" (Stone 1909, 509).

This notion that the soul eats the body and blood was not confined to the Church of England. Those churches in America following the Westminster Confession read in Article 29 that the worthy receivers of the eucharist "feed upon Christ crucified, and all the benefits of his death." Yet the body and blood are received "spiritually" not "corporally." Various American confessions of faith borrowed this language from the Westminster Confession.

But it is likely that these American churches viewed eating the body and blood even less literally. By the nineteenth century rationalism had made inroads into eucharistic thought. The eucharist was seen less as an encounter with God and more of a symbolic expres-

sion—as commitment to inspire obedience and as a memorial. Many nineteenth-century Lutherans were saying that Luther was wrong in stating that the elements contain the real presence. Similarly some Methodists had abandoned Wesley's sacramental views. For Wesley the eucharist was a pledge of obedience to keep the commandments and a memorial. But it was much more. It was a means of transporting grace to participants and spiritual food (Borgen 1972, 92). Some followers had replaced these views with more symbolic notions (Lehmann 1961, 135-65; Clarke 1824, 245-56).

Rationalism was a common feature of what James White (1989) calls "Frontier Worship." This was a common mode of worship among Baptists and Christians in western New York, as well as among the unchurched. White states that in frontier worship the Lord's Supper was seen as a memorial to a past event rather than a present reality. The message of the Lord's Supper was exhortation to righteousness.

It is clear from Book of Mormon prayers that the elements do not contain the real presence but are a memorial to be taken "in remembrance." Yet it is also true that they are more than mere symbols. The bread and wine are blessed and sanctified to the souls of those who partake of it. The term "soul" in the Book of Mormon can mean either "person" or "spirit" as opposed to "body." The phrase itself ("to the souls of those who partake of it") contrasts "souls" to "those who partake of it." Therefore the understanding of "soul" here is "spirit." 3 Nephi 20:8-9 elaborates on the notion of the spirit eating the body and blood: "he that eateth this bread, eateth of my body to their soul, and he that drinketh of this wine, drinketh of my blood to their soul, and their soul shall never hunger or thirst, but be filled. Now when the multitude had all eat and drank, behold they are filled with the spirit ..." In short, the elements are blessed to be memorials for the participants. Yet at the same time the soul of the participant partakes of the body and blood.

James White in discussing the Mormon prayers within a nineteenth-century Protestant context correctly emphasizes that the elements are blessed as memorials. But he goes too far in equating the Book of Mormon's stance with the rational sacramental views in western New York (White 1989, 171-81). Nephites in the Book of Mormon see the elements as more than signs. According to the Book of Mormon, those Nephites who partook of the Lord's Supper were referred to as being "filled" or filled with the Spirit numerous times (3 Ne. 18-20). The promise is also given by Christ to those who partake of the sacrament that they shall never hunger or thirst but shall be filled.

This language can be usefully juxtaposed to the Nephite version of one of the beatitudes, "And blessed are all they which do hunger and thirst after righteousness, for they shall be filled with the Holy Ghost"

(3 Ne. 12:6). This juxtaposition suggests that considering the function of the Holy Ghost in the Book of Mormon is a necessary first step in understanding the nature of its work in the ritual of the Lord's Supper. The Holy Ghost serves extremely important functions in the Book of Mormon. It is a source of spiritual knowledge. It is the epistemological base for certainty. It encourages good works and calls preachers to preach. It is the source of charismatic gifts. In some contexts being filled with the spirit implies a granting of miraculous powers.

Being filled with the spirit in the context of the Lord's Supper seems to imply the experience of joy, comfort, strength, and spiritual sustenance (see Alma 22:15, 31:24-38; Moro. 8:25-26). The distinction made between hungering and being filled with the spirit suggests that the soul's eating of the Lord's body and the descent of the spirit refers to a state of being and an experience. Since the Lord's Supper is a renewal of the covenant at baptism, the descent of the spirit may also include forgiveness of sin (see 3 Ne. 12:6; 18:4-9; 20:8-9). In other words, the Book of Mormon does not propose a purely rationalist understanding of the sacrament but an experiential memorial bearing joy, comfort, strength, and possibly forgiveness. The elements are more than mere signs. Yet they do not operate objectively. They require the worthiness and participation of the partaker and the descent of the spirit to make the sacraments efficacious.

This experiential memorial is expressed in the theme of "remembrance" in the Mormon prayers. Understanding the concept of remembrance helps clarify its use in the eucharist prayers. And since as we have seen other Christians took the elements of the eucharist "in remembrance" of the body of Christ, a closer consideration of the Book of Mormon notion is significant.

The importance of remembering comes up frequently in the Book of Mormon. For example, King Benjamin addressed an audience: "I would that ye should remember, and always retain in remembrance, the greatness of God and your own nothingness, and his goodness and long suffering toward you unworthy creatures, and humble yourselves even in the depths of humility, calling on the name of the Lord daily, and standing steadfastly in the faith of that which is to come, which was spoken by the mouth of the Angel; and behold, I say unto you that if ye do this, ye shall always rejoice, and be filled with the love of God, and always retain a remission of your sins" (Mosiah 4:11-12).

To "remember" is to grasp the significance of one's position before God. That understanding leads to a state of humility, love, and remission of sins, according to King Benjamin. On board the ship to America, Laman and Lemuel exhibited sinful behavior because "they did forget by what power they had been brought thither." Often the Book

of Mormon exhorts remembrance of God's commandments or covenants.

"Remembrance" or memory implies a state of being, a religious experience which conduces to righteous behavior. Thus memory in the Book of Mormon—and by extension the "remembrance" enjoined by sacramental prayers—is a religious and emotional experience and not just a cognitive recollection (see 1 Ne. 2:24; 2 Ne. 3:25; Mosiah 2:40; Alma 4:29; Hel. 12:3). To remember is to participate in works of righteousness.

This expression of "remembrance" as experiential memorial appealed to evangelicals in the early nineteenth century. These evangelicals believed in subjective religion. They described their religion as "experimental religion." What they meant by this was a religion the individual experienced. Emotion was often seen as a manifestation of God. In an 1827 sermon in Troy, New York, the famous evangelical, Charles Finney, defended the extreme emotions evoked in his revivals. For Finney the difference between heaven and hell was not in what one believed intellectually. It was rather in one's "state of the heart or affections" (Finney 1827, 3-7). An evangelical expression of remembrance as experiential memorial can be found in a eucharistic hymn by Charles Wesley (Whaling 1981):

> Come, thou everlasting Spirit,
> Bring to every thankful mind
> All the Saviour's dying merit,
> All his sufferings for mankind;
> True Recorder of his passion,
> Now the living faith impart,
> Now reveal his great salvation,
> Preach his gospel to our heart.
> Come, thou Witness of his dying
> Come, Remembrancer Divine,
> Let us feel thy power applying
> Christ to every soul and mine;
> Let us groan thy inward groaning,
> Look on Him we pierced and grieve,
> All receive the grace atoning,
> All the sprinkled blood receive.

Remembrance is a central theological feature in Mormon eucharistic prayers. A second major feature is covenant. The idea of the Lord's Supper as a covenant dates to the institution narratives themselves. There the cup is the "cup of the new testament" (Matt. 26:28; Mark 14:24; Luke 22:20; 1 Cor. 11:25). As was the case in considering controversies about form of liturgy, an overview of historical developments in covenantal thought can help in sorting out what is at stake in the

conversation about covenant in the nineteenth century.

In the Middle Ages, the eucharist was commonly viewed as a sacrifice by the congregation or priest—a kind of good work in itself. In some cases the eucharist became a mechanical exercise to achieve results from God. Masses were held for the dead, to find lost property, to obtain good weather, and so forth. Just prior to the Reformation, it was not unusual for Catholics to see the eucharist as a repetition of the Atonement (Clark 1960).

Reformers revolted against the eucharist as a sacrifice or a good work. There is no doubt that they unfairly attacked Catholic eucharistic notions. But they did so because of a fundamental theological difference: salvation is by grace and not good works. Hence Luther explained the notion of covenant in the institution narratives as a last will from Christ. It was not seen as a contract or agreement but as a gift or unconditional promise. Since salvation could not be earned, the eucharistic covenant was God's assurance of salvation by grace. Only secondarily was a sacrament a pledge of obedience.

Zwingli also objected to Catholic teachings but differed from Luther in his sacramental views. Salvation was a gift from God. But Zwingli defined sacrament as a covenant sign or pledge of obedience. He compared the sacraments to a military oath (Holifield 1974, 6-8). In Calvin's and other early reformed liturgies, the Lord's Supper is referred to as a covenant (Thompson 1961). Calvin, elaborating on Patristic themes, stated that all we have to offer God is praise and thanksgiving. Hence a sacrament is not a contract but rather God's guarantee to us (Brilioth 1930, 44-45; Heron 1983, 143-45).

Covenant as an explicit topic became the focus of religious discussion in seventeenth-century Protestantism in Europe and America with the popularity of "federal theology" (from the Latin *foeder* meaning compact or covenant). This covenant theology distinguished between the covenant of grace and the covenant of works. God entered into a covenant of works with Adam in the Garden of Eden. But when this covenant was broken, a new covenant was established with the human race. This is the covenant of grace.

But in federal theology there was a new understanding of covenant. The shift was from a notion of covenant as promise to covenant as contract emphasizing human activity. Even the covenant of grace was perceived as a contract in some fundamental way. This new idea of covenant as contract influenced both theological and political thought (Torrance 1970; 1981), and often turned the eucharist into a sacrament of penance or morality instead of a seal of grace.

E. Brooks Holifield discusses at length the different covenantal options presented by Puritans in England and New England. Puritans commonly imagined the sacraments as seals of the covenant (Holifield

1974). Most Puritans held to Calvin's sacramental idea that the Holy Ghost conferred spiritual benefits, but a surprising variety of views on the sacraments coexisted within a group accepting salvation of the elect by grace. Some saw the sacrament as a seal of a conditional covenant. For others it was a seal of absolute divine promise.

A variety of understandings regarding the nature of covenant existed in the nineteenth-century churches in America. The influence of federal theology continued into the nineteenth century. The distinction between the original covenant of works with Adam versus the present covenant of grace can be found among Baptists, Methodists, Congregationalists, and Presbyterians. Discussions of the sacraments as covenants were commonplace, if the language about the nature of these covenants tended to remain ambiguous. The 1786 Presbyterian prayer describes the eucharist: "Join us to thee in a new and everlasting covenant, and make us one spirit with thyself. May thy continual grace further and assist us in the performance of every duty of the Christian life." The covenant is thus a request that God's grace will assist "in the performance of every duty" (Ramsey and Koedel 1976).

The 1822 *Evangelical Witness* refers to those who partake of the eucharist as "Covenanters." Despite evangelical allegiance to salvation by grace, this discussion states that the purpose of the Lord's Supper was "remembering him in the renewal of their vows" of obedience to God's system. Samuel Smith, not related to Joseph Smith, was a proponent of the "covenant of grace" (Smith 1816). But for him the Lord's Supper "is an active service; and contains an active pledge of our having embraced the covenant, and of our fidelity to all its conditions." Those conditions include "external deportment." John Gill, an influential eighteenth-century American Baptist, characterized the eucharist as a symbol commemorating the death of Jesus, a sign of grace by faith but also a commitment to refrain from sinning (Straughton 1810). James Haldane argued that the Lord's Supper was for professing faith in the Atonement, expressing union with other Christians, remembering the merits of Christ's death, and resolving to be obedient. The eucharist was a "Witness" or sign from God of his salvation which comes through grace. Haldane complained against those who believe the Lord's Supper was a sign of salvation through works (Haldane 1812).

But there are indications that the Reformers' ideal of covenant as promise of grace still remained alive in early nineteenth-century New York. Wesley had seen the sacraments as covenant renewal of grace and commitment to "diligently keep his commandments" (Wesley 1810). The 1813 official Methodist *Doctrine and Discipline* emphasized the sacraments as signs of strengthening and confirming grace. Real presence is denied in this document. Rather the body of Christ is received "by faith" and not through the elements themselves of the sac-

rament. Still Wesley and early American Methodists were conservative Arminians and could mix their discussion of works and grace (although grace was always officially presented as prior to good works). Humans were free to choose salvation despite innate depravity. Such Arminian notions and New Haven Calvinist doctrines were gaining ground through the revivals of the early nineteenth century. Thus the claim of human freedom and a greater emphasis on works began to increase in the early nineteenth century. Faith and repentance began to be seen as expressions of good works to win salvation.

The Book of Mormon presents an extreme version of this trend toward emphasis on good works. It describes the sacramental covenant as a contract. A covenant of grace is never mentioned, although the general notion of covenant as promise can be found in the Book of Mormon. But even those promises are conditional. Within the nineteenth-century context of ambiguous statements about the eucharistic covenant, the clarity of the Book of Mormon on this issue is striking. With its emphasis on covenant as a contract of works, it makes a clear break with the Reformation idea of covenant as an unconditional gift from God.

Richard Anderson, in his article "The Restoration of the Sacrament," thus correctly summarizes the major theological themes in the Book of Mormon prayers as remembrance and covenant of obedience (Anderson 1992). He is also correct in contrasting these themes with the Reformation ideal of salvation by grace. However, Anderson does not acknowledge how characteristic the themes of remembrance and obedience were in frontier worship of western New York. Anderson's silence on these matters may be strategic, since he claims that the Book of Mormon prayers restore the ancient form by bringing back a lost covenant of obedience, even though the institution narratives contain no such covenant. By ignoring the complexity of the nineteenth-century context, and by extrapolating the incomplete New Testament record, Anderson can argue that remembrance and obedience could have been restored in the Book of Mormon after being lost for nearly two millennia. Anderson characterizes the Protestant notion of covenant as exclusively unconditional gift. But I have argued here that federal theology made contractual notions important in Protestantism.

For me the surprising feature of the Book of Mormon presentation of the eucharist is the entirely personal nature of the covenant. This covenant is spoken of as a contract between the individual and God. I say surprising because the Book of Mormon promotes such a strong sense of community and social justice.

However, the ideal of personal covenant in the Book of Mormon echoes Protestant thought in 1830. By then the ideal of covenant between a community and God was dying out. Earlier the Puritans in

America took their models of covenant from the ideals of Old Testament social covenant. But by the time of Jonathan Edwards, the eucharistic covenant was typically seen as a covenant between the individual and God (Adams 1984, 113-25). Covenants between groups and God are presented in the Book of Mormon, but the liturgy of the Lord's Supper contrasts with this social model and presents instead an individualistic one. If somewhat atypical within the book, it is certainly typical within a nineteenth-century context.

The elements of the covenant in the Book of Mormon are a pledge then of remembrance and obedience. The final element is profession of Christ, a willingness to "take upon them the name of Christ." In the early nineteenth century, to "take upon the name of Christ" meant to identify oneself as a Christian. This seems to be the Book of Mormon's understanding of the phrase (Thomas 1983). It was a common Protestant notion that the eucharist was the profession of one's Christian discipleship. Charles Chauncy stated that the eucharist was "a badge of christian profession" which distinguished people as Christ's followers and through which one received comfort, grace, and confirmation by the descent of the spirit (Chauncy 1816, 29-31). Conversely one author claimed that whoever neglected the sacrament could not be called a Christian (Haldane 1812, 11). Timothy Dwight taught that it was through baptism that Christians originally "take his name upon them" (Dwight 1828, 560). In the early nineteenth century, primitivists expanded this notion to include the belief that the church itself must "take upon the name of Christ" or be called by Christ's name (Thomas 1983). These same notions are found as part of the covenant in the Book of Mormon. And of course the Mormon church was originally known as the Church of Christ.

The Book of Mormon addressed several additional issues which were matters of question and dispute among Christians in the nineteenth century. These included questions about how often the eucharist should be administered, the manner in which it should be administered, and who should participate.

By the end of the Middle Ages, the laity only participated in the eucharist once per year. This was for practical reasons and because the eucharist was seen as holy, even terrifying. Most Protestants down through the nineteenth century advocated more active participation. Luther and others suggested three or four times per year. Some Baptists in the 1820s suggested three times per year. Presbyterians generally celebrated the sacrament two to four times a year. Most New England churches celebrated the Lord's Supper once per month. Other churches, including Alexander Campbell's Christians, suggested once a week on Sunday. But some feared that weekly communion would destroy the solemnity of the event (Haldane 1812; Straughton 1810,

567-71; Lehmann 1961, 140; Adams 1984, 16, 72, 80-83, 101-109). James Haldane argued against those who objected to weekly communion. He interpreted 1 Corinthians 11:25 ("this do ye, as oft as ye drink it, in remembrance of me") to mean that we ought to partake of the eucharist often (Haldane 1812, 7-11). Similarly the Book of Mormon rephrases 1 Corinthians 11:25 in such a way as to advocate frequent communion: "and they did meet together oft to partake of bread and wine, in remembrance of the Lord Jesus" (Moro. 6:6).

Another controversy in the nineteenth century concerned the manner of receiving the sacrament. Some churches, including the Methodists, advocated that the administrator and the congregation kneel while the prayer was said. Some advocated kneeling when receiving the eucharist. Others ridiculed kneeling because they believed it implied worship of the elements. They advocated instead either a standing or sitting position. The Book of Mormon advocated a solution similar to that of the Methodists: the congregation and those offering the eucharistic prayer should kneel: "And they shall kneel down with the church, and pray to the Father in the name of Christ, saying ..." (Moro. 4:2).[7]

Other disputes addressed by the Book of Mormon turned on who should receive the sacraments. In the late eighteenth century, Presbyterian ministers would "fence the table" prior to distributing the eucharist. This fencing constituted outlining the qualifications in belief and behavior that would qualify one to partake of the sacrament. "Fencing the table" could take up to an hour or more (Ramsey and Koedel 1976, 210). In the eighteenth century Solomon Stoddart started a more open eucharistic movement, which gained wide acceptance. He believed that the Lord's Supper was a means of grace, not just an outer sign of grace. Thus he advocated the eucharist as a way of converting sinners. Evangelicals disagreed with Stoddart and declared that only the converted should participate (Ahlstrom 1975, 213, 359-60). Such restriction was an attempt to protect the holiness of the sacrament and the purity of the believers. Certain Baptists denied communion to anyone who had not been baptized by immersion. Methodists generally denied communion to those who were not Methodists.

Jesus states in the Book of Mormon that "ye shall not suffer any one, knowingly, to partake of my flesh and blood unworthily" (3 Ne. 18:27-29). He paraphrases 1 Corinthians 11:28-29 to state why only the righteous should participate in the sacrament, then goes on to say that

7. The 13 June 1901 entry in the diary of Rudger Clawson, housed at the Marriott Library, University of Utah, states that the meeting of the First Presidency and Quorum of the Twelve on that day decided "to establish uniform procedure throughout the church" by mandating that only the party officiating should kneel.

although sinners may be denied the eucharist, they should not be denied access to places of worship: "nevertheless ye shall not cast him out of your synagogues, or your places of worship, for unto such ye shall continue to minister; for ye know not but what they will return and repent. ..." This Book of Mormon position of allowing all to attend addressed the concerns of some churches who resisted letting outsiders even attend their meetings. At least some Baptists in the 1820s would not admit anyone to their meetings who was not worthy of baptism and the eucharist. Early American Methodists allowed outsiders and sinners to visit their meetings and love feasts once or twice. But if they were not converted, they were no longer allowed to attend. In fact one needed a preapproved ticket to get into classes (Crowther 1813, 194, 203-39).

By focusing on the individual nature of the eucharistic covenant, contemporary Mormons allow believers and outsiders alike to partake of the elements of the sacrament, while excluding only unrepentant "sinners." This underscores the individual covenant of works and emphasis on morality inherent in Mormon understanding of the eucharist. The Book of Mormon thus, through its commitment to a covenant of works, established one of the core elements of Mormon religiosity: obedience or morality.

But beside the moral element we find important liturgical symbolism in the Book of Mormon. These liturgical symbols resist modern notions of symbolism. The understanding of the spirit partaking the body and blood demonstrates that the ritual is more than a visual sign or cognitive transmission, even though the symbolism avoids the idea of God's real presence in the elements. By eating the tokens of a dead body and drinking the representation of spilt blood, one experiences new life through the descent of the Spirit. The Mormon sacraments are thus a reenactment and participation in the processes of salvation. The sacraments transmit the spiritual realities they portray. I believe this notion of symbolism, or ritual, as participation is an idea with enduring importance.

The weakness of the symbolism is perhaps its lack of emphasis on community. These prayers do not support a notion of covenant expressing the strong Mormon communitarian ideal. Above all else the Mormon sacraments ought to be an expression of the life of the church as a whole. Giving food and taking food establishes and defines human relationships and spiritual bonds from the time of childhood. Meals are a means of establishing community. It is the community that must ritually conquer death and guilt. Communion of the followers of Christ was among the earliest conceptions of the Lord's Supper in early Christianity, and this ideal of community certainly fits Mormon theology.

Mormonism claims to restore primitive Christianity. It is within the context of restoration that we can grasp the full intent of Mormon liturgical claims. Mormon liturgy is clearly not a restoration of ancient words in any literal sense. But just as sacramental elements are memorials of the body of Christ, so restoration must be conceived and experienced in symbolic terms. Mormonism presents a symbolic restoration consisting of remembering, a professing identity, and committing to moral ideals. Restoration represents ritual participation by a community in the lost ideal. Restoration expresses an experience of loss and despair that finds hope through participation in the ancient rituals of salvation.

In this essay I have tried to interpret the eucharist in the Book of Mormon from a rhetorical perspective. The eucharistic prayers themselves are in the form of a post-Reformation epiclesis containing a covenant. Some readers may conclude that this points to a nineteenth-century historical setting for the writing of the Book of Mormon. Others may conclude that rhetoric was such a central concern of the ancient authors and/or Joseph Smith that they shaped both form and content of the book to address nineteenth-century issues. Or perhaps there are many areas of common concern between ancient Nephites and early nineteenth-century Americans. Regardless of the origin of the book, understanding its rhetorical features can clarify its messages and help today's readers enter into a dialogue with the book that challenges our understanding of sacramental symbolism.

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CHAPTER 4

Book of Mormon Christology

Melodie Moench Charles

Recently when I was teaching the Book of Mormon in an adult Sunday school class we discussed Mosiah 15. There Abinadi preaches: "God himself shall come down among the children of men ... being the Father and the Son—The Father, because he was conceived by the power of God; and the Son, because of the flesh; thus becoming the Father and the Son—And they are one God, yea, the very Eternal Father of heaven and of earth" (vv. 1-4). I said that I saw no good way to reconcile Abindadi's words with the current Mormon belief that God and his son Jesus Christ are separate and distinct beings. I suggested that perhaps Abinadi's understanding was incomplete.

The class response included defenses of revelation and prophets, explanations that Abinadi or his editor was unable to state clearly what he knew (which was exactly what Mormons know today), and accusations that I was crossing the line of propriety and wisdom to suggest that a prophet could teach incorrect doctrines about God. There was considerable out-of-class discussion too. Some people appreciated a public acknowledgement of an obvious difference between Book of Mormon doctrine and current church doctrine. A few friends said things like, "I don't care what they say about you. I've wondered about that passage for a long time, and I'm glad somebody pointed out that it's not what we teach today." But many class members thought the lesson inappropriate and upsetting, and soon I was demoted to teaching nursery.

Members of this Sunday school class, like many other Mormons, presumed that the beliefs, religious practices, mindset, and cultural understanding of Book of Mormon personalities were very similar to their own. This presumption is understandable. Mormonism claims to be a restoration of the church Jesus established in the New Testament,

and it claims that this New Testament church taught the same Christian gospel that Adam and Noah knew and taught (Moses 5:6-15; 8:19-24). Some Mormons teach that righteous people at all times are inspired by God with correct religious knowledge: therefore Abinadi's religious knowledge must match our own regardless of what his words say.

Bruce R. McConkie, an influential promoter of this line of thought and a member of the church's Quorum of Twelve Apostles, counseled: "[O]ur concern is to be guided by the Spirit and to interpret the ancient word in harmony with latter day revelation." "As it happens—it could not be otherwise with an unchangeable God—what we have conforms to what the ancient saints had. ... The everlasting gospel; the eternal priesthood; the identical ordinances of salvation and exaltation; the never-varying doctrines of salvation; the same Church and kingdom; the keys of the kingdom, which alone can seal men up unto eternal life—all these have always been the same in all ages; and it shall be so everlastingly on this earth" (McConkie 1984, 17, 31-32).

However, Mormonism also promotes another approach to scripture. 2 Nephi 28:27-30 quotes "the Lord God" as saying that humans who think God has already revealed all truth are mistaken. People willing to listen to God will receive more knowledge from him "line upon line, precept upon precept, here a little and there a little" (see also Isa. 28:9-13; D&C 98:12; 128:21). When the Book of Mormon's own Title Page says that if the book has faults "they are the mistakes of men," it acknowledges that humans, even righteous, well-meaning ones, might not understand everything correctly and might make mistakes. Just as subsequent LDS leaders were able to reject some of Brigham Young's religious teachings as false, Brigham Young called some biblical teachings "baby stories" that he had outgrown (JD 2:6). Even Bruce R. McConkie, in the face of the 1978 revelation allowing black males to hold the priesthood, said: "Forget everything that I have said, or what President Brigham Young or President George Q. Cannon or whomsoever has said in days past that is contrary to the present revelation. We spoke with a limited understanding and without the light and knowledge that now has come into the world. ... It is a new day and a new arrangement, and the Lord has now given the revelation that sheds light out into the world on this subject" (McConkie 1978, 1-2). Modern revelation, a concept central to the Mormon church, would be unnecessary if everything were already known and known clearly.

When we explore what the Book of Mormon says, its christology or doctrines concerning Christ differ from the christology of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints since at least the 1840s. To give the Book of Mormon's ideas a context this essay will show some

of what the Book of Mormon says about Jesus Christ and will compare that with what Jews at the time of Jesus' birth were expecting the Messiah to be, with what Christians after his death believed he was, and with current Mormon beliefs.

Krister Stendahl provided a valuable insight for studying Book of Mormon christology. He theorized that Christ's sermon in 3 Nephi 12-14 was Joseph Smith's attempt to improve the Sermon on the Mount in the Gospel of Matthew. The mortal Jesus in Matthew became supramortal in 3 Nephi. Stendahl said that rather than delivering a message of "what is right according to God's will for his people and his creation," Christ in 3 Nephi delivered a message focused on belief in himself, just as he did according to the Gospel of John. What he taught in Matthew's Sermon on the Mount, he proclaimed and commanded in 3 Nephi. The proportions of events written in the gospels are expanded in the 3 Nephi setting. Whereas in the Gospel of John, one doubting disciple is invited to feel the risen Christ's wounds, in 3 Nephi "the multitude" was invited and "went forth, and thrust their hands into his side, and did feel the prints of the nails in his hands and in his feet ... going forth one by one until they had all gone forth" (John 20:25-27; 3 Ne. 11:13-15). 3 Nephi's miracles are all more miraculous than the miracles performed in the New Testament gospels. For example, in 3 Nephi Christ solicited "all that were afflicted in any manner" to come together, and he healed them (17:9). The New Testament gospels show him healing afflicted people as he encountered them. Later in 3 Nephi he fed a multitude by creating food ex nihilo rather than by multiplying existing loaves and fishes (20:1-7; Stendahl 1978, 139-54).

Stendahl's thesis, that 3 Nephi magnifies Christ beyond the Christ whom the gospels of Matthew, Mark, and Luke portray, applies to the whole Book of Mormon. Book of Mormon prophecies about Christ are far more detailed and specific than are Old Testament prophecies. Book of Mormon people had knowledge about the purpose of Jesus' mission beyond what New Testament writers had. Unlike Jesus' New Testament disciples, good people in the Book of Mormon never had misconceptions about Christ's identity or his roles because they had almost no ambiguous information to mislead them. In his earthly roles Christ is more exalted in the Book of Mormon than in the New Testament. The Book of Mormon presents Christ as God and Redeemer who saves believers from the consequences of sin.

This essay examines what the Book of Mormon people believed about Christ derived from their own experiences and from revelations foretelling his coming. Next it compares these beliefs to Near Eastern people's expectations about their messiah, whose coming was foretold in Old Testament prophecies. The essay then describes Book of Mor-

mon christology, focusing on Christ as the Father. It compares this theology to other Christian theology. Finally it examines the current Mormon belief that Jesus is Jehovah, the God of the Old Testament, an idea partially derived from the Book of Mormon.

I

Book of Mormon people never knew Christ as a mortal. They believed that he acted as their God before his earthly mission, and they understood from the first that Jesus had cosmic significance. They knew every mortal depended on him for life because he was their creator. They knew he gave them his laws and gospel so that they would understand what was required of them to attain the salvation he made possible. They knew they depended on him for salvation because he condescended to live as a mortal to atone for their sins, making it possible for them to be resurrected and have eternal life.[1]

Both the Nephites and Jaredites experienced Christ as their God long before his ministry on earth. Christ was the God who directed Nephites to the new land they would inherit, and he covenanted with them that he would insure their prosperity there if they were righteous (2 Ne. 1:5-10; 3 Ne. 5:20). Christ was the God who helped the Jaredites cross the ocean to their promised land and who saved the Israelites at the Red Sea (Ether 2:12-13; Mosiah 7:19, 20, 27).

People in the Book of Mormon taught that during his earthly mission in Palestine Jesus would have a mortal body subject to temptation, pain, hunger, thirst, fatigue, sorrow, grief, suffering, and death.[2] However, Book of Mormon people did not necessarily believe that this meant he actually *was* mortal during his ministry on earth. Nephi learned in a vision that Jesus "went forth ministering unto the people, in power and great glory" (1 Ne. 11:28). King Benjamin taught that Jesus was "the Lord Omnipotent" who would "come down from heaven among the children of men" "with power." After seeing him perform miracles, suffer "even more than man can suffer," and be called "the Son of God, the Father of heaven and earth, the Creator of all things from the beginning," his own people would misunderstand and "consider him a man" (Mosiah 3:5-9, 17). Jacob explained that

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1. Jesus as creator: 2 Ne. 9:5, 19-21, 26; Mosiah 3:8; 27:30; Hel. 14:22; Morm. 9:32.

Jesus as giver of law: 2 Ne. 2:21; 9:4-5, 23-38; 26:23-33; 31:10-21; Mosiah 3:16-24; Alma 41:2-4; 3 Ne. 12:19-20; 15:10; 18:10, 14; Morm. 9:3.

Jesus as the route to salvation: 2 Ne. 2:8-10, 26-29; 9:5-8, 19-22; 10:25; Mosiah 3:11; 13:35; 15:8-12, 19-24; 16:7-15; 18:2; Alma 4:14; 11:42-45; 12:34; 21:9; 27:28; 33:22; 40:3, 15-17; 3 Ne. 6:20; Morm. 7:6; 9:13; Moro. 7:41.

2. Mosiah 3:7, 35; 14:3-10; 15:5, 7; Alma 7:11-13; 3 Ne. 6:20.

"should the mighty miracles be wrought among other nations they would repent, and know that he be their God" (2 Ne. 10:3).

Book of Mormon people described his earthly mission as *God's* suffering, *God's* being crucified, *God's* dying, and *God's* atoning for sins.[3] Amulek explained that Christ must have been an infinite being, that is, a God, because only the atonement of an infinite being "will suffice for the sins of the world. ... that great and last sacrifice will be the Son of God, yea, infinite and eternal" (Alma 34:10-14; see Thomas 1983, 22; and Matthews 1989, 188-89). Believing that Christ was God during his earthly ministry, Book of Mormon people seem to have believed that he retained the understanding, knowledge, and power of godhood while on earth.[4]

In contrast to those in Palestine who encountered Jesus as a mortal who got dirty, tired, and hungry as he lived among them, Book of Mormon people never *encountered* him as finite in any way. What they heard about his Palestinian ministry emphasized the miraculous and the divine. In Matthew Jesus walked up a mountain to deliver the Sermon on the Mount and walked back down when he was finished (5:1; 8:1). In 3 Nephi Jesus delivered virtually the same sermon, but this time he had just been introduced by the Father, had just taken credit for causing unparalleled catastrophe which dramatically changed the topography of the land and destroyed entire cities full of people, and had just descended from heaven (9:1-11:8). When he was finished he ascended to heaven in clouds (18:38-39). The Nephites worshipped and prayed to him while he was physically in their midst (11:17; 19:18-25).

People in the Book of Mormon living long before Jesus was born knew many specific details about his birth. They knew that Jesus would be born six hundred years after Lehi and his family left Jerusalem. Jesus' mother would be a beautiful virgin named Mary, living in Nazareth, who would conceive during a miraculous encounter with the Holy Ghost. A new star would appear when Jesus was born.[5] They

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3. 1 Ne. 19:7-13; 2 Ne. 1:10; 6:9; 9:4-5, 20-21; 10:3; 11:7; 26:12; Mosiah 5:15; 7:27; 13:28, 34; 15:1; 26:18-26; Alma 42:15; Hel. 8:23; 11:14; 16:18; Morm. 3:21; Ether 2:12; Moro. 8:8.

4. The only text that suggests he is not omniscient on earth is not representative. As Keith Norman has noted, Alma teaches that this experience in a mortal body would be a training experience for Jesus, for in it "he will take upon him [his people's] infirmities, that his bowels may be filled with mercy, according to the flesh, that he may know according to the flesh how to succor his people according to their infirmities" (Alma 7:12; Norman 1985, 24). As a result of his suffering as a mortal, he would have the empathy to comfort and deal mercifully with the people to whom he is God. This is problematic because the Book of Mormon portrays him as functioning as God *before* he comes to earth to get this training in how to be an empathetic God.

5. Six hundred years: 1 Ne. 10:4; 19:8; 2 Ne. 25:19.
Beautiful virgin: 1 Ne. 11:13, 15.

received revelation that his name would be Jesus, Christ, or Jesus Christ.[6]

Book of Mormon people learned of the mission of John the Baptist and reported his declarations about Jesus. They described Jesus' baptism and the Holy Ghost descending like a dove upon him (1 Ne. 10:7-10; 11:27; 2 Ne. 31:4-8). All of these details except Mary's beauty are found in the New Testament gospels, and many of the details, particularly about John the Baptist, are reported in language very similar to the language used to describe them in the King James Version of the Bible (KJV).[7]

Mary: Mosiah 3:8; Alma 7:10.
Nazareth: 1 Ne. 11:13, but note Alma 7:10 says Jerusalem.
Holy Ghost: 1 Ne. 11:18-20; Alma 7:10.
Star: Hel. 14:5.

6. Jesus Christ: 2 Ne. 10:3; 25:19; Mosiah 3:8; 15:21; but "Christ" was not Jesus' *name.* While his Aramaic-speaking contemporaries may have called him "messiah," a title meaning "Anointed," it was the Greek-speaking authors of the New Testament who after his death called him "Christ," the Greek translation of "messiah." Gradually "Christ" lost its original meaning of "anointed one" and was used as if it were part of Jesus' name (Cullman 1963, 134).

Christians from New Testament times onward have used "Christ" to denote "a very definite Messiah, Jesus, who now is called Christ not as a title but as a name." Christians began to use Christ as Jesus' surname (*Greek-English Lexicon* 1979, 887; see also IDB 1:562). Although 1 Nephi 10:4, 5, 14; and 2 Nephi 1:10 link the title "Messiah" with "a Savior of the world," "this redeemer of the world," "their Lord and their Redeemer," and "their Redeemer and their God," the word "Messiah" never meant these things to speakers of Hebrew or Aramaic (even though some of them may have believed that Jesus was both their Messiah and the Redeemer of humankind). The title "Messiah" did not encompass these ideas, though the title/name "Christ" eventually did.

1 Ne. 12:18 was originally the first place the Book of Mormon text used the name "Jesus Christ." In the Original Manuscript (*O*), the Printer's Manuscript (*P*), and the 1830 edition of the Book of Mormon, an angel uses the name matter-of-factly to tell Nephi about "the justice of the eternal God, and Jesus Christ, which is the Lamb of God." From the 1837 edition on, this passage has read "the justice of the Eternal God, and the Messiah who is the Lamb of God." Thus, in versions after 1837, when the angel reveals to Jacob in 2 Ne. 10:3 that the name of the Redeemer to come is "Christ," this is new information. It would not have been new if Nephi had already heard it. (See Metcalfe, in this compilation.)

7. The following parallel details are reported in parallel language:

1 Ne. 10:7-8: Lehi describes "a prophet who should come before the Messiah, to prepare the way of the Lord—Yea, even he should go forth and cry in the wilderness: Prepare ye the way of the Lord, and make his paths straight." Compare Matt. 3:3, which describes John the Baptist as "he that was spoken of by the prophet Esaias, saying, The voice of one crying in the wilderness, Prepare ye the way of the Lord, make his paths straight."

1 Ne. 10:8: "... for there standeth one among you whom ye know not; and he is mightier than I, whose shoe's latchet I am not worthy to unloose." Compare John 1:26-28: "[T]here standeth one among you, whom ye know not; He it is, who coming after me is preferred before me, whose shoe's latchet I am not worthy to unloose."

People in the Book of Mormon anticipated Jesus' earthly ministry to come. They knew he would be among people in Jerusalem and would have twelve apostles who followed him.[8] He would "declare glad tidings of salvation unto his people," and would say "unto the children of men: Follow thou me" (2 Ne. 31:10; Alma 39:15). Some people would "say that he hath a devil" (Mosiah 3:9).

They knew he would minister to people "in power and great glory" (1 Ne. 11:28). He would heal the sick, raise the dead, cast out evil spirits, and perform other miracles. Many people would fall down and worship him, and multitudes would gather to hear him.[9] He would be "oppressed and afflicted," would suffer "temptation, and pain of body, hunger, thirst, and fatigue." He would be "despised and rejected of men; a man of sorrows, and acquainted with grief" (Mosiah 3:7; 13:35; 14:2-3; Alma 7:11).

Book of Mormon people also received detailed revelation about the end of Jesus' ministry. They knew he would be scourged, smitten, and spat upon. He would bear other people's sorrows and transgressions, suffering so much that "blood cometh from every pore, so great shall be his anguish for the wickedness and the abominations of his people" (Mosiah 3:7; 14:4-5; Alma 34:8). He would be taken from prison and crucified. After being crucified, his body would lie in a sepulchre and then in three days he would rise, ceasing to be dead. Even before his first coming they knew that there would be a second coming.[10] All this information about his ministry, death, and resurrection

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1 Ne. 10:9: "[H]e should baptize in Bethabara, beyond Jordan." Compare John 1:28: "These things were done in Bethabara beyond Jordan, where John was baptizing." (The KJV reads "Bethabara" following less reliable Greek manuscripts, as Origen did. The best manuscripts indicate that the original reading is "Bethany." See IDB 1:388.)

1 Ne. 10:10: "He should behold and bear record that he had baptized the Lamb of God, who should take away the sins of the world." Compare John 1:28: "John ... saith, Behold the Lamb of God, which taketh away the sin of the world."

2 Ne. 31:6: in being baptized Jesus "did fulfill all righteousness." Compare Matt. 3:15: "thus it becometh us to fulfill all righteousness."

All biblical quotations in this essay are from the KJV because of the Book of Mormon's parallels to it.

8. Jerusalem: 2 Ne. 9:5.
Twelve apostles: 1 Ne. 1:10-11; 11:29, 36; 12:9; 13:26.

9. Miracles: 1 Ne. 11:31; 2 Ne. 10:4; Mosiah 3:5-6.
People worship him: 1 Ne. 11:24.
Multitudes gather: 1 Ne. 11:28.

10. Scourged, smitten, spat upon: 1 Ne. 19:9; 2 Ne. 6:9; Mosiah 3:9.
Taken from prison: Mosiah 14:8.
Crucified: 1 Ne. 19:10, 13; 2 Ne. 6:9; 10:3, 5; 25:13; Mosiah 3:9; 15:7.
Sepulchre: 1 Ne. 19:10; 2 Ne. 25:13.
Rise in three days: 2 Ne. 25:13; Mosiah 3:10; Alma 33:22; Hel. 14:20.

is also in the New Testament gospels.

Book of Mormon people also understood Jesus' theological significance. They understood *why* he lived on earth in a mortal body, died as he did, and was resurrected. Preachers and teachers in the Book of Mormon knew that Jesus would be the savior and redeemer of the world. The salvation he would bring would be spiritual rather than national or political, for because of Adam's sin, "all mankind were lost; and behold, they would have been endlessly lost were it not that God redeemed his people from their lost and fallen state" (Mosiah 16:4).[11]

They were aware that Jesus would pay the penalty that justice demands for sins committed, and this payment would satisfy justice. The penalty would be paid by Jesus' dying to atone for people's sins, for "there would be no redemption for mankind save it were through the death and sufferings of Christ, and the atonement of his blood" (Alma 21:9). Repeatedly using virtually the same phrase that John the Baptist uses in the gospel of John, these Book of Mormon people taught that Jesus would "take away the sins of the world."[12]

Book of Mormon people referred to the surplus merits earned by Jesus that can be applied to repentant sinners: dwelling in God's presence would be possible only "through the merits, and mercy, and grace of the Holy Messiah" (2 Ne. 2:8). They called Jesus "the great Mediator of all men" who would "make intercession" for them with God and would reconcile them to God. The author of Hebrews used similar terms to describe Jesus' role and actions when he described Jesus' atonement as a sacrifice. The Book of Mormon and Hebrews taught that Jesus would offer himself to God as a sacrifice, "a great and last sacrifice ... an infinite and eternal sacrifice. ... [T]hen shall there be a stop to the shedding of blood; then shall the law of Moses be fulfilled" (Alma 34:10-13).[13]

Second coming: 2 Ne. 6:14; 3 Ne. 28:7.

11. Savior/redeemer: 1 Ne. 10:4-5; 11:27; 13:40; 2 Ne. 2:3, 6; 9:21; Omni 26; Mosiah 3:9, 18; 4:6-8; 13:33; 15:1; 16:13, 15; 26:26; Alma 5:27; 6:8; 19:13; 33:22; 38:9; Hel. 5:9.

Mortals lost and fallen: 1 Ne. 10:6; 2 Ne. 9:6; Jacob 7:12; Mosiah 3:11; Alma 34:9; 42:6, 12, 14.

12. Satisfies justice: Mosiah 15:9; Alma 34:15-16; 42:15.

Atonement: 2 Ne. 9:7; Jacob 7:12; Mosiah 3:11, 15, 18; 4:6; Alma 21:9; 33:22; 34:8; 36:17; 42:15.

Take away sins: 1 Ne. 10:10; 2 Ne. 31:4; Mosiah 15:9; 12; 26:23; Alma 5:48; 7:13; 11:40; 39:15.

13. Merits: 2 Ne. 31:19; Alma 24:10; Hel. 14:13.

Mediator 2 Ne. 2:27, 28; mediator [of the New Testament] Heb. 9:15.

Make intercession: 2 Ne. 2:9-10; Mosiah 14:12; 15:8; Heb. 7:25.

Be reconciled: Jacob 4:11; reconciliation: Heb. 2:17.

Sacrifice: 2 Ne. 2:7; 25:16.

Book of Mormon people were aware that Jesus' atonement would be followed by his resurrection, which would make it possible and necessary for all mortals to be resurrected. Resurrection entailed a reunion of a person's soul and body that had been separated at death. Because mortals after death would continue to live as immortals, it would be possible and necessary for them to be judged and assigned to an eternal fate appropriate to their righteousness or wickedness.[14] Alma 33:22 summarizes the major points of Book of Mormon people's understanding of Jesus' mission: "believe in the Son of God, that he will come to redeem his people, and that he shall suffer and die to atone for their sins; and that he shall rise again from the dead, which shall bring to pass the resurrection, that all men shall stand before him, to be judged at the last and judgment day, according to their works."

Alma, son of Alma, explained why Book of Mormon people were given so much knowledge about Jesus hundreds of years before his birth and half a world away: "Behold, you marvel why these things should be known so long beforehand. ... [I]s not a soul at this time as precious unto God as a soul will be at the time of his coming? Is it not as necessary that the plan of redemption should be made known unto this people as well as unto their children? Is it not as easy at this time for the Lord to send his angel to declare these glad tidings unto us as unto our children, or as after the time of his coming?" (39:17-19)

Nothing is wrong with Alma's reasoning, but the abundance of nonessential details, such as the name of Jesus' mother, some of Jesus' contemporaries opining that he was possessed by a devil, or the town Jesus' mother would be from, have nothing to do with the redemption of humankind. Why should Book of Mormon people know the town John the Baptist would baptize in or where Jesus' dead body would lie and how long it would lie there?

The only details about Jesus' earthly life the Book of Mormon includes are those also contained in the New Testament. For example, the Book of Mormon does not tell what Jesus did from age twelve to age thirty, if he was married or had children, or if his mortal father, Joseph, was among his disciples. It does not describe Jesus' setting up a church organization. It does not describe his receiving priesthood authority in mortal life, his performing miracles or rituals using that

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Infinite atonement: 2 Ne. 9:7; 25:16.

14. Resurrection: 2 Ne. 2:8; 9:7-13; Jacob 4:11; Mosiah 13:35; 15:8, 20; 16:8-10; Alma 27:28; 33:22; Hel. 14:15-17.

Soul and body: 2 Ne. 9:12-13; Alma 11:43-45; 34:34; 40:18-20; 41:2.

Judgment: 2 Ne. 2:10; Mosiah 3:10; 16:10-11; Alma 11:41; 33:22; Hel. 14:15-18.

priesthood authority, nor his passing that authority on.

Since these prophecies about Jesus' life appeared long after the New Testament record of their fulfillment was available to almost everyone in the western world, they are useless as evidence for the Book of Mormon's historicity or as evidence that Christ's life fulfilled prophecy. The Book of Mormon's extensive, specific detailing of events hundreds of years in the future is without parallel in verifiable, before-the-fact prophesies. For Book of Mormon people so far removed from Jesus' life on earth, many of these details would be only trivia.

II

Having these specific details would have been useful for people who lived where and when Jesus did. With these details they could have recognized Jesus clearly and thus accepted him more easily when they saw that his life matched prophecies beforehand. Yet as they are portrayed in the Bible, the Israelites in the Near East from the time of Lehi to Jesus' birth had almost none of this same information about the messiah to come.

What those Israelites expected was quite different from what Jesus was. From prophecies in the Old Testament they expected a king descended from King David. God would work through this king to restore Israel to the prosperity and peace that the Israelites remembered had characterized David's reign. The establishment of this kingdom would usher in God's reign on earth. Jeremiah, a contemporary of Lehi, provided a good representation of the messianic expectation in Israel at the time Lehi's group left Israel for the New World when he declared, "Behold, the days come, saith the LORD, that I will raise unto David a righteous Branch, and a King shall reign and prosper, and shall execute judgment and justice in the earth. In his days Judah shall be saved, and Israel shall dwell safely; and this is his name whereby he shall be called, THE LORD [is] OUR RIGHTEOUSNESS" (Jer. 23:5-6).[15]

Jesus' contemporaries in the Near East encountered Jesus as a mortal: a teacher of righteousness and the kingdom of God, a critic of the religious status quo, and a worker of miracles. Even those who

15. Robert H. Stein writes that there are variations in what people expected the Messiah to be. "In some circles the Messiah was portrayed as reigning for 400 years and then dying (II Esdras/IV Ezra 7:28-29). In the Dead Sea community at Qumran two future anointed ones were expected," one priestly, one political. "In rabbinic Judaism we even read of a Messiah who comes out of Benjamin. ... To the man on the street in the first century, however, the term 'Messiah' tended to evoke a picture of an earthly, this-worldly political figure, a king who was David's son, who would deliver the Jewish nation from bondage to their enemies and reign in righteousness" (Stein 1978, 121).

were closest to him did not understand his identity or role before his death, for he did not explain them clearly.[16] His life did not match the Old Testament's messiah prophecies about a king who would usher in a reign of peace. Jesus called himself "the Son of Man"—a cryptic title even now after nineteen hundred years of biblical scholarship.[17] His contemporaries were not looking for someone who would atone for humankind's sins or who would make resurrection possible. Only after his resurrection did most of them begin to realize how extraordinary he was and how the events of his life fit into the salvation of humankind.[18]

During his lifetime his followers knew of no god other than the God of Israel, the god who sent Jesus into the world. The New Testament never refers to Jesus as Father. Instead Jesus describes the Israelites' god as *his* father. Jesus refers to the temple as "my father's house," to "my Father ... your God," and to this god as the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob (John 2:6; 8:54; Mark 12:26). The New Testament has no record of Jesus describing himself as the Israelites' god. Paul said that there was no other god but one (1 Cor. 8:4) and this god was the Father (Philip. 1:2; Philem. 3; Kirkland 1986, 83-85). After Jesus' death and resurrection, early Christians began to believe that he had cosmic significance, in-

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16. According to Mark 16, in spite of Jesus' prophecies that he would be killed and raised on the third day, the women who went to his tomb after his death expected to find his body there. They apparently did not anticipate his resurrection and therefore did not understand what his mission entailed. Matthew, Mark, and Luke record that some of Jesus' apostles doubted when others claimed that Jesus had been resurrected, and some doubted even when they saw him in his resurrected state (Matt. 28:17; Mark 16:8-14; Luke 24:12-41). Mark 8:31-33 portray Peter rebuking Jesus for prophesying his own death and resurrection, and then Jesus rebuking Peter, apparently for not understanding that his death and resurrection were essential to his mission. Later in Mark, Peter, James, and John wonder what Jesus meant when he talked of rising from the dead (9:11, 32). Luke (19:34) and John (16:16-18) portray all the twelve not understanding what he meant by it. In John 14:9 Jesus asks Philip, "Have I been with you so long, and yet you do not know me, Philip?"

17. Morna D. Hooker wrote, "[A]ny direct equation of the Son of Man and Messiah makes nonsense of the evidence of the gospels, which shows clearly that neither the disciples of Jesus, nor the Jews in general, understood the title 'Son of Man' as a Messianic term" (*Jesus and the Servant: The Influence of the Servant Concept of Deutero-Isaiah in the New Testament* [London: S.P.C.K., 1959], 146, quoted in Orlinski 1977, 71).

18. For example, Oscar Cullman suggests that Peter came to understand only after Jesus' resurrection that the suffering and death of Jesus were the core of his mission (1963, 74). Keith Norman wrote that Jesus' anguished cry on the cross and his plea in Gethsemane "indicate that he himself did not understand his death as a vicarious atoning sacrifice." He also wrote that when read without imposing later Christian interpretation on them, the synoptic gospels and Acts do not present Jesus as a divine being so much as a remarkable human chosen or adopted by God (1985, 20, 21, 22). Donald Juel wrote, "[I]n Luke/Acts virtually nothing is said about the atoning value of Jesus' death" (1988, 128).

cluding premortal creative activity, a monumental role in making salvation possible, and post-resurrection glory and exaltation.[19]

It was a surprise to those who accepted Jesus as the Messiah that he died on a cross and did not radically improve the world they lived in. Donald Juel explained, "No one expected the Messiah to suffer for sins ... [or] rise from the dead, because he was not expected to die." Rather than being a feature of his mission, his dying seemed to have cut his mission short. Those who believed that Jesus was the Messiah had to "understand how such things could be, and it led them into the scriptures with a specific agenda." Almost all Old Testament scriptures that seemed to match details in the life of Jesus were discovered by believers after the fact; they were not part of anyone's prior expectation (Juel 1988, 13, 26, 29, 60).[20]

After the fact, believers tried to find Old Testament scripture to relate to unexpected aspects of Jesus' life. Paul said (without noting specific scriptures) that "Christ died for our sins *according to the scriptures;* And that he was buried, and that he rose again the third day *according to the scriptures*" (1 Cor. 15:3-4, emphasis added). The account in Acts portrays Peter as saying (citing only one general messianic scripture): "all the prophets from Samuel and those that follow after, as many as have spoken, have likewise foretold of these days" (Acts 3:24). Similarly, after his resurrection Christ told the Nephites: "all the prophets from Samuel and those that follow after, as many as have spoken, have testified of me" (3 Ne. 20:24). Lehi, Jacob, Abinadi, and Helaman also taught that almost all of God's prophets had testified about Christ.[21]

The Book of Mormon explained why its people's knowledge was so different from the knowledge of the people in Israel as recorded in the Bible as we have it today. Nephi learned from an angel that the Israelites' scripture "containeth many of the prophecies of the holy prophets; and it is a record like unto the engravings which are on the plates of brass [the scripture Lehi's family brought out of Jerusalem in 600 B.C.E.], save there are not so many." Even though the scripture the Jews had did not contain as much information as the brass plates did, "it contained the fulness of the gospel of the Lord." After Jesus' apos-

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19. Premortal creative activity: John 1:1-3, Col. 1:16; Heb. 1:10.
Made salvation possible: Rom. 5:6-17; 6:23; 1 Cor. 15; Heb. 7:27; 1 John 1:7-10.
Post-resurrection glory and exaltation: Acts 2:30-36; Philip. 2:5-11.

20. Oscar Cullman, a bit more reserved, says that if a suffering Messiah who atones for people's sins were available in pre-Christian Judaism at all, it was at least not the Messiah expected by mainstream Jews in the pre-Christian era (1963, 56, 58).

21. 1 Ne. 10:5; Jacob 4:4; 7:11; Mosiah 13:33; Hel. 8:13-16.

tles shared the book with the Gentiles, a "great and abominable church" was formed which took "away from the gospel of the Lamb many parts which are plain and most precious; and also many covenants of the Lord have they taken away. And all this have they done that they might pervert the right ways of the Lord, that they might blind the eyes and harden the hearts of the children of men. ... There are many plain and precious things taken away from the book, which is the book of the Lamb of God" (1 Ne. 13:23-27).[22] According to the Book of Mormon then, we should not be skeptical because of its extensive, specific details about Christ and the Christian gospel long before Christ's birth—instead we should be skeptical of the Bible because it does not have similar details.

Joseph Smith taught that "many important points touching the salvation of man, had been taken from the Bible, or lost before it was compiled." He attributed the Bible's errors to "ignorant translators, careless transcribers, or designing and corrupt priests ..." (Smith et al. 1978, 1:245; J. F. Smith 1973, 327). So according to Joseph Smith and the Book of Mormon, the Bible's teachings about Jesus would be more like the Book of Mormon's teachings if the Bible had not been altered by careless or malicious people.

From the brass plates Nephi learned that "the God of Abraham, and of Isaac, and the God of Jacob, yieldeth himself, according to the words of the angel, as a man, into the hands of wicked men, to be lifted up, *according to the words of Zenock*, and to be crucified, *according to the words of Neum*, and to be buried in a sepulchre, *according to the words of Zenos*" (1 Ne. 19:10, emphasis added). Amulek preached that Alma, relying on the words of Zenos and Zenock, "has proved unto you ... that the word is in Christ unto salvation" (Alma 34:6-7; see also 3 Ne. 10:16). Nephi son of Helaman claims that Zenos, Zenock, and Ezias as well as Isaiah and Jeremiah refer to redemption through Christ (Hel. 8:19-20). Therefore, Book of Mormon people learned about Christ largely through the prophecies of Zenos, Zenock, Neum, and Ezias, Israelite prophets mentioned only in the Book of Mormon. Additional information came through personal visions and revelations to people such as Lehi, Nephi, Jacob, and Samuel (1 Ne. 1, 10-13; 2 Ne. 10:3; Hel. 13-15).

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22. This says that the deliberate perverting of the Bible took place after the apostles began to proselyte the Gentiles. Therefore at least until Jesus' death the Israelites' scriptures could have included prophecies about Jesus just as detailed as those in the Book of Mormon and should have included the Christian gospel. There are no extant ancient versions of the Old Testament which confirm this, and the Qumran documents, the only known Old Testament texts from a pre-Christian period, show no evidence of detailed prophesies mentioning Jesus or matching his life or mission, or of a Christian gospel (IDB 4:580-94).

Some people—including committed RLDS and LDS Mormons, and scholars without a bias for or against Mormonism—have suggested alternative explanations for why the knowledge of Book of Mormon people had differed significantly from the knowledge of their Jewish contemporaries in the Near East. They hold that the Book of Mormon was not a record written by Near Eastern emigrants in the Western Hemisphere from 600 B.C.E. to 400 C.E. but rather was authored by Joseph Smith. They argue that the Book of Mormon reflects his limited grasp of specifics about Israelite life and life in the Americas at that time and also reflects the ideas, customs, and texts that were available to someone living in the eastern United States in the nineteenth century. For these people, explicitly detailed Christian prophecies and concepts are anachronisms that mar the book's credibility as an ancient document.

For example, Mark Thomas notes that the concept of infinite sins being remitted only through the atonement of an infinite being in Alma 34 had its origin with Anselm of Canterbury in the twelfth century C.E. Therefore it was anachronistic for Amulek in 74 B.C.E. to use the concept (Thomas 1983, 22; Ostler 1987, 82). Dan Vogel (in this compilation) and Brent Lee Metcalfe (1983) have shown that this theory was hotly debated in New England in Joseph Smith's time using the same terminology that the Book of Mormon uses. Those who consider this anachronistic do not suggest that Smith was conversant with Anselm's theory as Anselm himself wrote it. Rather they indicate that since ideas deriving from or resembling Anselm's were in use in Smith's religious surroundings, Smith is the more likely author of them in their Book of Mormon setting than Amulek is, because logically Amulek should not have been exposed to them.[23]

Hugh Nibley has presented a theory which allows for and explains the presence of anachronisms in the Book of Mormon text. He maintains that "any prophet is free to contribute anything to the written record that will make the message clear and intelligible. ... [I]nspired men in every age ... translate, abridge, expand, explain, and update the writing of their predecessors" (1988, 132, 134). Following Nibley's lead, Blake Ostler has proposed that the Book of Mormon is a combination of

23. Steven E. Robinson contends that because of the many differences between Amulek's explanation and Anselm's theory, Alma 34 does not depend on Anselm (1989, 410-11). However, Robinson argues against similarities between Anselm's theory *as Anselm wrote it* not as centuries of Christian thought incorporated and interpreted it. Neither Dan Vogel, Mark Thomas, Brent Metcalfe, nor Blake Ostler, who all note the parallel, have suggested that Joseph Smith wrote Alma 34 with conscious knowledge that the ideas were Anselm's. Nor have they suggested Smith was attempting to be consistent with Anselm's own telling of his theory.

authentically ancient material and expansions of that material by Smith, who drew from eighteen hundred years of Christian thought and tradition. For example, Ostler says it is unlikely that actual Nephite preachers spoke matter-of-factly about original sin and human depravity as the Book of Mormon portrays them doing, for "there simply is no pre-exilic interpretation of the fall of Adam." As portrayed in the Bible, Israelites before Jesus' time had no notion of being in a fallen state from which they needed saving (Ostler 1987, 81-82).

This approach, an attempt to find a middle ground between those who reject the book as history because of what they see as anachronisms and those who would accept it as history, has been criticized by people in both groups. Robert L. Millet objected: "to ascribe to Joseph Smith the theology of the Book of Mormon is to give him more credit than is due, and likewise to call into question the historicity of the record and its ancient contents. For Joseph Smith to utilize the English language with which he was familiar in recording the translation is one thing; to create the theology (or to place the theology into the mouths of Benjamin or Alma or Moroni) is quite another. The latter situation would be tantamount to deceit and misrepresentation: it would be to claim that the doctrines and principles are of ancient date (which the record itself declares), when, in fact, they would be a fabrication of a nineteenth-century man" (1987, 67). In contrast Brent Metcalfe (1987) felt that Ostler did not go far enough; he said Ostler suspended his scholarship and accepted as ancient too many things that should have been questioned.

Stephen D. Ricks, countering claims that Christian prophecies and theology in the Book of Mormon are anachronistic, responded, "To accept only those elements of the Book of Mormon ... that accord with what is already known is to refuse it any primary evidentiary value." He asked, "Is it so unreasonable to envision a 'Church of Anticipation' of a Messiah in the pre-Christian era?" In other words, just because parallels have not been found yet for pre-Christian-era Christianity does not mean they do not exist (1990, 138, 139). Furthermore Stephen E. Robinson wrote that even if parallels are never found because none exist, that would not affect the Book of Mormon's credibility. He accused scholars of adopting "the practice of accepting Book of Mormon evidence for Nephite belief and practice only if a similar belief or practice can be found in pre-exilic Israelite sources. ... The possibility that Nephite culture was to any degree idiosyncratic is totally ignored." He said that it is not unreasonable to believe that the Book of Mormon is a record of a unique culture which, through revelation accepted only by it, held sophisticated Christian beliefs in a pre-Christian era (1989, 396).

III

According to the Bible, Judaism at the time of Jesus' birth was monotheistic. Jews believed in only one God. He created the world and he intervened in human history. He was savior and redeemer of humankind, meaning that by his intervention he could save individuals and nations from their enemies and from hardship caused by events of nature such as drought, pestilence, or accidents. Christians eventually transferred the titles and attributes of the God of the Old Testament to Jesus. "Thus both the Father and the Son are ascribed the roles and titles of Lord, Savior, Redeemer, Creator, Judge, I Am, Alpha and Omega in the New Testament" (Kirkland, 86; see also Moule 1977, 41-43).

However, when Jewish Christians began to understand Jesus as a divine being, they either had to abandon monotheism to accommodate the notion of a second god or they had to redefine God so that he could be a human living on earth while also living in heaven as the divine father of that human. If Jesus and his father (and perhaps the Holy Spirit) were all gods, how many gods were there? Was Jesus a god separate and distinct from his father, was he one aspect of his father, or was he his father acting in one of a number of roles? Could he have been both human and divine? Was he one of God's creatures as mere mortals were, or was he pre-existent, without a beginning, just as God was? Answering these questions has occupied Christian theologians and churches from New Testament times to the present.

The Book of Mormon people never were monotheists in an Old Testament sense, so the dilemma of Near Eastern Jewish Christians was never theirs. Although they were Israelites they did not presume that there was only one God in the way the Near Eastern Israelites did. They had extensive knowledge of Christ to come, and they understood that he and his father were their god.

Book of Mormon people asserted that the Father and Christ (and the Holy Ghost) were one god. When Zeezrom asks Amulek, "Is there more than one God?" Amulek, who learned his information from an angel, answers, "No" (Alma 11:28-29). At least five times in 3 Nephi, Jesus says that he and the Father are one. Emphasizing that oneness with a singular verb, Nephi, Amulek, and Mormon refer to "the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, which *is* one God" (2 Ne. 31:21; Alma 11:44; Morm. 7:7, emphasis added).[24]

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24. The phrase is also in the final line of the testimony of the three witnesses to the Book of Mormon. Because Joseph Smith wrote this testimony for Oliver Cowdery, Martin Harris, and David Whitmer to sign, it is evidence of *his* understanding of the godhead at that early stage. Probably to bring the scriptures closer to his growing realization that there were three separate beings who *were not* one being at all, Joseph Smith changed the singular *is* in Mormon 7:7 to the plural *are* in the 1837 edition. The same change was

This is a common trinitarian formula. To allow Jesus' divinity and yet safeguard against belief in more gods than one, the early Christian church developed trinitarianism in which "the Father is God ... the Son is also God, and ... there is only one God" (Lonergan 1976, 47). Technically trinitarianism is the belief that God is three distinct persons of one undivided substance. Each has an individual identity that does not merge with the identities of the others, and yet their essence or substance is identical. Because this concept is not logical, it has been misunderstood by both laypeople and some of their religious leaders, and people have tended to label any idea trinitarian that defines God as being both one and three (Hale 1985, 26).

Popular understanding of trinitarianism has often confused the idea of a shared essence with an idea of shared identity or personality. This confusion was unavoidable, for the creeds, beginning with the Nicene Creed of 325 C.E., used the ambiguous "homoousious" or "consubstantial" to describe the unity of essence of the Father, Son, and the Holy Spirit. Consubstantial, as Bertrand de Margerie has written, "could be interpreted ... as if the Son were identical with the Father to the extent of being numerically indistinguishable from him," as if they were only one being (de Margerie 1981, 91).

What is worse, consubstantial has a general meaning, but a different, unique meaning when applied to God. As Bernard Lonergan explains, Peter and Paul, two humans, are consubstantial because they belong to the same species. They are two distinct, individual representatives of that species. However, the Father and the Son in being consubstantial have two distinct personalities and they belong to the same species, but they have numerically the same substance and are numerically only one God (Lonergan 1976, 88).

When the Council at Chalcedon in 451 C.E. decreed that the Son is consubstantial with the Father in their divinity and consubstantial with us in our humanity, consubstantial had a different meaning in each case. Lonergan again explains that "the human substance of Christ and that of Peter ... are numerically distinct from each other, whereas the divine substance of the Father and the Son is numerically one and the same" (1976, 88, 92). Some people have thought that one undivided substance necessitated one undivided personality. But the Christian hierarchy determined that this was heresy—having the same essence did not obliterate the distinctions among the trinity (Burkill 1971, 84, 89).

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made in 1835 in what is now Doctrine and Covenants 20:28 from its earlier version in the Book of Commandments. There are other examples of his revising the Book of Mormon to accommodate his growing understanding.

In isolation the Book of Mormon's "which is one God" statements sound like orthodox trinitarianism, but in context they resemble a theology rejected by orthodoxy since at least 215 C.E., the heresy of modalism (also known as Sabellianism).[25] Modalists believed that for God to have three separate identities or personalities compromised the oneness of God. Therefore, as Sabellius taught, "there is only one undivided Spirit; the Father is not one thing and the Son another, but ... both are one and the same" (Lonergan 1976, 38). Father, Son, and Holy Spirit are three labels for the different functions which the one God performed. One scholar writes that for Sabellius, "The terms Father and Son weren't real distinctions, but were mere names applicable at different times" (Kelly 1960, 120). Noetus and Praxeas, early modalists, pushed this idea to its full extension: "If Christ was God ... then he must be identical with the Father; otherwise he could not be God. Consequently, if Christ suffered, the Father suffered" (Kelly 1960, 120); or as Tertullian ridiculed, "Praxeas ... crucified the Father" (Bettenson 1943, 54).

To combat modalism Athanasius, at the time of the Nicene Council, insisted: "We must say of the Son all that we say of the Father except the name of the Father." And further, "All that is true of the Father is also true of the Son except only that the Father is Father." A short time later Basil explained that "divinity is common to both, paternity is proper to only one" (de Margerie 1981, 94, 131). To believe that the Son was the Father or that they were the same being was heresy to Christians of this early period.

This seems to be what people in the Book of Mormon believe. The Book of Mormon often makes no distinction between Christ and God the Father. For example, Jesus in 3 Nephi talked about covenants which *his father* made with the Israelites, and yet beyond anything he claimed in the New Testament he also claimed that *he* was the God of Israel who gave them the law and covenanted with them (3 Ne. 16:5; 20:11, 19, 25 contrasted with 11:14; 15:5). Most Book of Mormon references to God, Lord, and Lord God are not explicit enough to allow readers to tell whether the speaker meant the Father or the Son.

The Book of Mormon melds together the identity and function of Christ and God. Because Book of Mormon authors saw Christ and his

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25. Clyde Forsberg's master's thesis suggests that Book of Mormon christology is neither continuous nor consistent. He labels 3 Nephi as roughly trinitarian and elsewhere sees elements of Arianism (in which Jesus is the first and best creation of the Father). He also sees a mixture of Trinitarianism and Arianism and an inversion of Sabellianism in which Jesus Christ is the only god and the Father is one mode of Jesus Christ's existence. While he has broken the christology down more minutely than I, he concludes as I do that the Book of Mormon is generally Sabellian or modalistic.

Father as one God who manifested himself in different ways, it made no difference whether they called their god the Father or the Son. They taught that Jesus Christ was not only the one who atoned for their sins but was also the god they were to worship. He was the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, and the God of Israel and the Book of Mormon people. He was their creator and the god who would judge them after death.[26] Although they often described God and Jesus functioning in traditional ways, they also claimed that God himself would come to earth and be crucified for humankind's sins, and that Jesus was ruler of heaven and earth.

On one point the Book of Mormon's christology differs from what early Christian modalists believed. Although Jesus' description of himself as Father and Son in Ether 3:14 is thoroughly modalistic, its context is not. In this same verse Jesus says, "I was prepared from the foundations of the world to redeem my people." This, coupled with his identifying himself as Jesus Christ a millennium before his birth, suggests a "pre-existent" Christ. Always concerned to preserve the notion of the unity of God, early Christian modalists rejected the idea that Christ existed apart from his father prior to his incarnation. They would not have attributed to Christ any of God's activity prior to Jesus' birth. For example, they interpreted John 1:1-18 as describing the Word's creation of the world allegorically, not as Christ's literal pre-existent activity (Kelly 1960, 120).

Those people are right who point out that many places in the Book of Mormon (particularly in 3 Nephi) portray the Son and the Father as if they were separate gods functioning simultaneously. However, they are not right to imply that this is evidence that Book of Mormon people had a concept of God and Jesus being separate and distinct indi-

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26. Worship Christ: 2 Ne. 25:29; 3 Ne. 11:17; 17:10.

Christ as God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob: 1 Ne. 19:10; Morm. 9:11-12.

Christ as God of Israel: 1 Ne. 19:7-15; 22:21; 2 Ne. 1:10; 6:9; 9:9-25; 25:29; Omni 1:26; 3 Ne. 11:14, 17; 15:5.

Christ as God of Book of Mormon people: 2 Ne. 10:7; 11:7; 26:12, 23-24; Mosiah 3:5, 17; 5:15; 7:27; 13:28, 33, 34; 15:1, 8-9; 23-24; 16:4; 26:23; 27:30-31; Alma 42:15; Hel. 8:22-23; 3 Ne. 5:20; 19:18-25; 23:6, 9; 4 Ne. 3:21; Ether 2:12; 3:6-20; 12:20, 22; Moro. 8:8; 10:8.

Christ as the Creator: 2 Ne. 9:4-5; Mosiah 3:8; 4:2; 26:23; 27:30-31; Alma 5:13; Hel. 14:12; 3 Ne. 9:15; Morm. 9:11-12; Ether 3:14-16; 4:7.

Christ as Judge: Title Page; 1 Ne. 22:21; 2 Ne. 9:15, 22; 21:3-4; Mosiah 3:10, 17; 27:30; Alma 33:22; 3 Ne. 27:16; 28:31, 40; Morm. 3:20-22; 6:21; 7:6; 9:13-14; Ether 12:38; Moro. 8:21.

On the other hand the Book of Mormon shows the Father as the god who acts in the world, punishing, rewarding, providing, leading, and revealing: 3 Ne. 12:16; 13:8, 26, 30; 14:11; 15:13, 15, 20; 16:10-15; 20:28-29, 33-34; 21:4, 9, 14, 26; 24:1; 28:7.

It shows the Father as the god who convenanted with the Israelites: 2 Ne. 29:2; 3 Ne. 16:5; 20:11, 19, 28-29, 46; 21:7; Morm. 9:37; Moro. 7:32.

viduals, as Mormons do today. These descriptions must be assessed in connection with the frequent statements (again particularly in 3 Nephi) that Jesus and his Father are one. To say that "oneness" in these passages refers only to oneness of will, purpose, power, and glory but not oneness of personality, person, essence, or number is imposing an interpretation on the text rather than letting the text speak (see Millet 1989, 52-54).

As Robert Millet claims, "the presentation in the Book of Mormon is similar to that in the New Testament concerning the oneness of the members of the Godhead" (1989, 53). Yet in the New Testament Jesus never claims to be the Father as he does in the Book of Mormon, and the New Testament never says that Jesus was the god the Israelites in the Old Testament were worshipping. Any assessment of Book of Mormon passages showing separate gods functioning simultaneously must also account for Christ's claims in the Book of Mormon that he was the Father and was the Israelites' God. Vogel notes that even though the New Testament frequently portrays Christ on earth while his Father is in heaven, "such passages never dissuaded modalists" from believing that there was only one God (Vogel 1989, 24).

Sabellius' modalism, more sophisticated than that of Noetus and Praxeas, explained how one God could be in heaven and on earth at the same time, and also explained who governed the universe "when the Godhead appeared as the Son" (Kelly 1960, 122). According to Sabellius, the one God who could appear in different roles could appear in them simultaneously: the Father is like the sun which "has three manifestations, light, heat, and the orb itself. ... The Son was at one time emitted, like ray of light; he accomplished in the world all that pertained to the dispensation of the Gospel and man's salvation, and was then taken back into heaven" (Turner 1954, 136; see also Bettenson 1943, 54-55). Therefore, when in 3 Nephi Christ is God on earth acknowledging his father as God in heaven, the Nephites, like the Sabellians, could still have thought of them as one God.

Although modalism is the best description for Book of Mormon theology generally, it is not apt in every instance. Furthermore, there is no reason to believe that Book of Mormon authors were intentionally constructing a theology that would fit any previous or future model or label. Nor did they seem concerned about making sure that the theology of any one part of the book was always consistent with the theology of other parts.

One way to see the Book of Mormon's modalism is to examine what it says about Christ as Father, since "the Father" often denotes the supreme God in Christian usage. The most straight-forward references use Father as a synonym for *creator*. Christ is called "the God, the Father of all things," "the very Eternal Father of heaven and of earth,

and all things which in them are," and "the Son of God, the Father of heaven and of earth" (Mosiah 7:27; Alma 11:38-39; Hel. 14:12; 16:18; Morm. 9:11-12). The contexts show only *his* involvement in creation. As "Father," Christ is the author or source of creation, not merely the agent or instrument who carries out someone else's will. As the Father not only of earth but also of heaven and everything in it, of heavenly beings as well as the stars and planets, this being called Christ is the Supreme Being.

Amulek echoes this understanding when he calls Christ not only "the very Eternal Father of heaven and of earth, and all things which in them are" but also "the beginning and the end, the first and the last" (Alma 11:38-39; compare 3 Ne. 9:18; Isa. 48:12; Rev. 1:8; 22:13). Commenting on this beginning/end, first/last formula in the New Testament book Revelation, the *Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible* explains that it "accents the uniqueness of the one God as creator and redeemer, as the ultimate source and ground of existence" (1:89). Abinadi shows that the roles of Savior and Supreme Being belong to the same God when he preaches: "Teach them that redemption cometh through Christ the Lord, who is the very Eternal Father" (Mosiah 16:15).

Moroni describes Jesus as "the Father and the Son" (Morm. 9:11-12). In Ether the Lord says, "I am he who was prepared from the foundation of the world to redeem my people. Behold, I am Jesus Christ, I am the Father and the Son. ... [H]e that will not believe me will not believe the Father who sent me. For behold, I am the Father, I am the light, and the life, and the truth of the world" (3:14; 4:12). Thus "the Lord" said he was both the being who acted as their God and the being who acted as Christ; that is, the being who sent Christ and the Christ who was sent.

Sometimes God the Father is the ultimate object of worship in the Book of Mormon (Millet 1987, 68) and sometimes Christ is. Book of Mormon characters frequently refer to Christ as if he were their only God.[27] Often the evidence is ambiguous as in 3 Nephi, where the resurrected Christ on earth among the Nephites talks as if he is his Father's subordinate. But then in 11:17 the people cried out, "Blessed be the name of the Most High God! And they did fall down at the feet of Jesus, and did worship him." Just after Christ instructed them to "always pray unto the Father in my name" (18:19), "they did pray unto Jesus, calling him their Lord and their God," and in response Jesus prays to his Father (19:18-30).

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27. Title Page; 1 Ne. 19:7-23; 2 Ne. 9:10; Mosiah 7:27; 26:14-32; Alma 42:15; Morm. 3:21; Ether 2:12.

Abinadi describes Jesus Christ as the Father: "God himself shall come down among the children of men, and shall redeem his people. And because he dwelleth in flesh he shall be called the Son of God, and having subjected the flesh to the will of the Father, being the Father and the Son—The Father, because he was conceived by the power of God; and the Son, because of the flesh; thus becoming the Father and Son—And they are one God, yea, the very Eternal Father of heaven and of earth. And thus the flesh becoming subject to the Spirit, or the Son to the Father, being one God, suffereth temptation, and yieldeth not to the temptation, but suffereth himself to be mocked, and scourged, and cast out, and disowned by his people" (Mosiah 15:1-5).

Thomas Alexander claimed that this sermon "explored the relationship between God and Christ" and showed a different understanding of deity than characterizes Mormonism today (1980, 25). Blake Ostler may be right when he objects that the subject of Abinadi's sermon is not the relationship between Father and Son; it is Christ's being divine and mortal (1987, 97). Yet Alexander is not wrong. Although Abinadi's focus and concern are on the issue of God becoming human, in explaining that primary concern he reveals his understanding of the unity of the Father and the Son. With the words, "God himself shall come down among the children of men" (15:1), Abinadi is saying that the Supreme Being, God, will also function as the divine man, Jesus Christ. Although he explains in verses 2 and 3 how Jesus can be both mortal (the Son) and divine (the Father), underlying his remarks is the understanding that there is only one being who is both the mortal/divine Jesus and the divine Father; he is "the Father and the Son." Verse 4 says that the Father and Son "are one God, yea, the very Eternal Father of heaven and of earth," and verse 5 again calls them "one God." 3 Nephi 1:14 is ambiguous but may provide similar information: "I come unto my own, to fulfill all things which I have made known unto the children of men from the foundation of the world, and to do the will, both of the Father and of the Son—of the Father because of me, and of the Son because of my flesh." These passages do indeed show a different understanding of deity than characterizes Mormonism today.

The Book of Mormon explains that its intended audience is not the contemporaries of its Nephite authors but rather people living many generations in the future when the record would be recovered. While denying that he believes Smith authored the Book of Mormon in the nineteenth century, Alexander says that teachings in the Book of Mormon "were similar to [teachings] of nineteenth-century Arminian-based Protestant groups such as the Methodists and Disciples. ... However, that does not mean that the Book of Mormon doctrines were

drawn from contemporary Protestantism, only that they were similar" (1989, 143-44).

Mark Thomas and Dan Vogel argue that the Book of Mormon was written specifically to address the religious issues of America in the 1830s. One of these issues was trinitarianism versus unitarianism: were Jesus and his Father one God (trinitarianism) or was Jesus a separate being subordinate to the Father, with only the Father being God (unitarianism)? Thomas explains that when the Book of Mormon's Title Page proclaims it was written to convince Jews and Gentiles that "JESUS is the CHRIST, the ETERNAL GOD," it means "the book wishes to heal the Jews of their disbelief [in Christ] and the Gentiles of both their disbelief and Unitarian heresies" (1989, 3:9-17). While the Book of Mormon did not preach technically correct trinitarianism, it was on the trinitarian side of this argument. It went beyond trinitarianism in advocating the union of Christ and God and in rejecting any notion that Christ might be less than divine or subordinate to God the Father.

Like the Book of Mormon, Mormonism before 1835 was largely modalistic, making no explicit distinction between the identities of the Father and the Son. Yet Mormonism gradually began to distinguish among different beings in the Godhead. This means the christology of the Book of Mormon differs significantly from the christology of the Mormon church after the 1840s.

The difference between Book of Mormon and later Mormon christologies is generally ignored, denied, or harmonized away in church writings. Most modern Mormons would resist the idea that Book of Mormon writers envisioned God as one person who assumed three different roles. One reason for this is the church's trend toward presentism: projecting current thought back into earlier times. As noted earlier, there is a strong belief that religious truths do not change: the truths God reveals to righteous people will not change from one person to another or from one age to another. God would not permit righteous people who desire to know the truth to seriously misunderstand. Therefore any righteous people whom God inspired would know the same religious truths that we know today.

The current theology that most Mormons read back into the Book of Mormon is tritheism: belief in three Gods. Joseph Smith and the church only gradually came to understand the Godhead in this way. When he translated the Book of Mormon, Smith apparently envisioned God as modalists did: he accepted Christ and Christ's father as one God. In his first written account of his "first vision" in 1832 Smith told of seeing "the Lord"—one being.

Soon after, in 1835, "The Lectures on Faith" described two personages in the Godhead with the Holy Ghost as the shared mind of the

two gods. (Although Smith may not have authored them, he approved of them, and the membership voted to accept them as scripture.) The Godhead in Smith's 1838 retelling of the first vision was more like the Godhead in "The Lectures on Faith" than in his 1832 account (although it does not mention the Holy Ghost). In contrast to the 1832 account in which he saw "the Lord," Smith described in the later 1838 account seeing *two* heavenly beings: God the Father and his Son Jesus Christ (JS-H 1:17-19: see Arrington and Bitton 1979, 5-8, for an explanation of this new element of the vision). The 1838 version of the first vision is a primary souce for Mormonism's understanding that God the Father and Jesus Christ are two separate and distinct personages.

Later, in 1844, Smith said, "I have always declared God to be a distinct personage—Jesus Christ a separate and distinct personage from God the Father, the Holy Ghost was a distinct personage and or Spirit, and these three constitute three distinct personages and three Gods" (Ehat and Cook 1981, 378, spelling and punctuation standardized). While some take this as a statement of fact—that Smith never taught any doctrine but this—Mormon history does not support Smith's claim about what he taught earlier. Documents from early Mormonism reflect that Smith went from belief in one god to belief in two and later three gods forming one godhead. He came to believe that Christ was a god distinct from his father, in a godhead comprised of separate individual members (Alexander 1980, 24-28; Allen 1979, 37-39; Vogel 1989, 17-33). They are united in purpose but are separate beings, each with his own unique role to play. Smith's 1844 statement does not accurately characterize his earlier teachings, but it is a good statement of what he believed and taught in 1844.

Another reason most Mormons today might not entertain the possibility that Book of Mormon authors believed in one god who had three modes of manifesting himself is that today a different idea is officially promoted. Partly because of the waxing and waning of the popularity of Brigham Young's teaching that Adam was the God of this earth, partly because of the temple ceremony, and partly because of the Book of Mormon's portrayal of Jesus Christ as the Supreme God, church members in the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth centuries were confused about the church's theology of the godhead.

For example, the St. George Stake High Council Minutes record a controversy over the beliefs of Edward Bunker. Bunker told one member of his stake "that Jesus Christ was the Father of Adam and that Jesus Christ and God was the same self person. When asked if he thought that Jesus Christ begat himself through the Virgin Mary ... he answered 'That is just what I think'" (13 Dec. 1890). The clerk at a later meeting recorded that "Father Bunker holds that Jesus is the Eternal

Father" (11 June 1894). On 27 February 1902 Joseph F. Smith, then president of the church, wrote in response to a letter from Bunker, "As to the personality and position of each God, as to which of all is the greater, these are matters immaterial at the present time, and are at best but an unprofitable speculation. ... to us there is but one God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ" (Smith 1902).

At a high council meeting of 11 June 1894, George Q. Cannon, then counselor to the church president, said, "Jesus speaks for the Godhead, the personages who compose the Godhead, and that must be kept in mind all the time, not speaking for himself, but for his Father. It is overlooking this that leads to confusion. men thinking that Jesus speaks for himself" (punctuation as in the original). This became one standard explanation for Jesus as the Father.

In 1916 the church hierarchy published "The Father and the Son: A Doctrinal Exposition by the First Presidency and the Twelve" to bury the Adam-God teachings, end confusion, and to let members know which theology had official approval (Kirkland 1984, 42). This document was carefully crafted using scriptural prooftexts to show a clear distinction between the Father and the Son and to show the subordination of the Son to the Father. It identified God the Father as Elohim and the Son, Jesus Christ, as Jehovah. The first section, "'Father' as Literal Parent," explained that God the Eternal Father is the literal parent of Jesus Christ and of the spirits of the human race.

It also purported to explain Jesus as Father when it said: "Jesus Christ applies to Himself both titles, 'Son' and 'Father.' Indeed, he specifically said to the brother of Jared: 'Behold, I am Jesus Christ. I am the Father and the Son' (Eth. 3:14). Jesus Christ is the Son of Elohim both as spiritual and bodily offspring; that is to say, Elohim is literally the Father of the spirit of Jesus Christ and also of the body in which Jesus Christ performed His mission in the flesh" (First Presidency 1976, 466-67). The document failed to explain how the term "Father" in this verse applies to Jesus or how Jesus is a literal parent of anyone.

The section "'Father' as Creator" explained that when Jesus is called "Father" in the sense of "Creator," "he is the executive of the Father, Elohim, in the work of creation." It referred the reader to chapter four in James E. Talmage's *Jesus the Christ*, which explained that "the Father operated in the work of creation through the Son, who thus became the executive through whom the will, commandment, or word of the Father was put into effect" (First Presidency 1976, 467; Talmage 1981, 33). Neither the "Doctrinal Exposition" nor *Jesus the Christ* uses any Book of Mormon verses to illustrate this idea because the Book of Mormon shows Christ creating independently and *never* shows him creating as a subordinate agent of his Father.

The section "Jesus Christ the 'Father' of Those Who Abide in His

Gospel" explains that those who accept his gospel become his children spiritually or figuratively (First Presidency 1976, 467-71). This explanation is consistent with the Book of Mormon (Mosiah 5:7; 15:10-14; Ether 3:14).

The section "Jesus Christ the 'Father' by Divine Investiture of Authority" explains that "in all His dealings with the human family Jesus the Son has represented ... Elohim His Father in power and authority. ... The Father placed His name upon the Son; and Jesus Christ spoke and ministered in and through the Father's name; and so far as power, authority, and Godship are concerned His words and acts were and are those of the Father." The Book of Mormon gives no evidence to support or disprove this position. The Book of Mormon verses cited here merely say that "I [Jesus] am even as the Father; and the Father and I are one" (3 Ne. 20:35; 28:10).[28]

This is a modern explanation for the phenomenon in the Book of Mormon (and the Doctrine and Covenants) of the Supreme God being identified as either Jesus Christ or God the Father. It is not an explanation the Book of Mormon itself (or the Doctrine and Covenants) offers, because it was not necessary to make sense of the phenomenon from the authors' standpoint. The passages in Mormon scripture which show Jesus Christ as the Supreme God reflect their authors' assumption that there was only one being who performed the functions deity performs (such as creator, savior, lawgiver), and either designation would do. The "divine investiture of authority" explanation was not necessary until Mormonism firmly embraced the doctrine that Jesus Christ was a distinct and separate deity subordinate to his Father. Christ had functions that only he performed, while the Father had functions that only he performed. After 1833 there is no clear example of this phenomenon of blending the identities and functions of deity in any revelation coming through Joseph Smith, probably because he began to see the members of the godhead as separate (Metcalfe 1990).

This "Doctrinal Exposition" used isolated scriptural texts as the source of and justification for doctrine. Commenting on the document, Talmage proclaimed: "That Jesus Christ or Jehovah is designated in certain scriptures as the Father in no wise justifies an assumption of identity between Him and his Father Elohim" (Talmage 1972, 466). This

28. Robert L. Millett has used these same explanations in the *Encyclopedia of Mormonism*'s entry on "Jesus Christ, Fatherhood and Sonship of," and added that "Christ is Father in that he literally inherited attributes and powers from his Father. ... he spiritually received all that the Father has." Quoting from Bruce R. McConkie, he says, "This is a matter of his Eternal Parent investing him with power from on high so that he becomes the Father because he exercises the power of that Eternal Being" (1992, 2:740-41).

statement tells Mormons that *they* should not believe that Jesus Christ and God the Father were literally one being. Tritheism, three separate Gods each with a unique role, is the acceptable belief for them. Some Mormons might assume that Talmage and the "Doctrinal Exposition" also declare what the scriptural texts actually mean. Because this official declaration has fully taken hold and been incorporated into church teachings, most Mormons would reject the idea that the Book of Mormon authors believed that the Father and the Son were one God, even though exegesis of those scriptural texts suggests that they did.

The evolution of Joseph Smith's beliefs in God is reflected in differences between the original 1830 edition of the Book of Mormon and all subsequent LDS editions. For the 1837 printing Smith made some efforts to remove the overlap and blending of the roles of God the Father, the God of humankind, and his Son, Jesus Christ, who atoned for humankind's sins. He made or accepted the following revisions[29]:

1830 Edition	*1837 Edition*
1 Ne. 11:19	**1 Ne. 11:19 (emphasis added)**
the virgin whom thou seest is the mother of God, after the manner of the flesh.	the virgin whom thou seest is the mother of *the Son of* God, after the manner of the flesh.
1 Ne. 11:21	**1 Ne. 11:21 (emphasis added)**
Behold the Lamb of God, yea, even the Eternal Father!	Behold the Lamb of God, yea, even *the Son of* the Eternal Father!
1 Ne. 11:32	**1 Ne. 11:32 (emphasis added)**
[the Lamb of God] was taken by the people; yea, the everlasting God was judged of the world.	[the Lamb of God] was taken by the people; yea, *the Son of* the everlasting God was judged of the world.
1 Ne. 13:40	**1 Ne. 13:40 (emphasis added)**
[these records] shall make known to all ... that the Lamb of God is the Eternal Father, and the Savior of the world.	[these records] shall make known to all ... that the Lamb of God is *the Son of* the Eternal Father, and the Savior of the world. (See Allen 1979, 37; FARMS 1987, 1:52, 53, 55, 70.)

29. 1 Nephi 11:21, 32 were faithfully copied from *P* in the 1830 first edition. *P* shows no emendation for the alteration of these two verses published in the 1837 second edition. Significantly, Joseph Smith made no known attempt to correct these alterations. This suggests that even if Smith did not personally make these changes, he at the very least did not object to them.

All these revisions occur in 1 Nephi. Since passages in the rest of the book which described Jesus as Father and Supreme God were not changed, it is possible that Smith intended to revise the whole Book of Mormon to reflect tritheism but only barely began the project. He may have given up, realizing that revising the Book of Mormon's theology would often require major rewriting rather than simple insertions or word replacement.

Christ's unity with his father or distinction from him is the most significant issue for a study of Book of Mormon christology because the issue is handled so differently in twentieth-century Mormonism. (The issues of Jesus' divine or human nature and his pre-existence are also significant.) Currently Mormonism is proudly, confidently tritheistic. Because most contemporary Mormons presume that their unusual tritheistic theology describes reality accurately and because they presume that the Book of Mormon describes reality accurately, the Book of Mormon's doctrine that the Son and the Father are one is misunderstood and misrepresented.

IV

A misunderstanding of Book of Mormon (and some New Testament) christology has significantly influenced twentieth-century Mormon theology. Because the Book of Mormon so frequently portrays Jesus as God of the Israelites and because the New Testament transferred to Christ ideas and scriptures that originally referred to God the Father, Mormon theology began to include the idea that "the Personage most generally designated in the Old Testament as God or the Lord is He who in the mortal state was known as Jesus Christ, and in the antemortal state as Jehovah." Jesus was God of the Old Testament, and "Jehovah" and "the Lord" generally refer to him rather than his father (Talmage 1972, 465-66).

Boyd Kirkland has found that the earliest serious exponents of this view were apostles George Q. Cannon and Franklin D. Richards in the 1870s through 1890s. The 1916 "Doctrinal Exposition by the First Presidency and the Twelve" made this theory official Mormon doctrine. In the 1980s and 1990s this theory is promoted everywhere and accepted almost without thought (Kirkland 1984, 36-44). For example, in *Old Testament Stories*, published by the church in 1980 and aimed at children, "Jesus" or "Jesus Christ" created the world, changed Jacob's name to Israel, and was Israel's God during the Exodus and the conquest of Jericho. (For no apparent reason, though, "God" officiated through most of the rest of the stories.)

Gordon B. Hinckley, a member of the First Presidency of the LDS church, recently identified Jesus Christ as "Jehovah of the Old Testa-

ment" and added that members should "believe in Jehovah, he whose finger wrote upon the tablets of stone amid the thunders of Sinai—'Thou shalt have no other gods before me'" (Hinckley 1989, 2-3). This implies that Jesus, as Jehovah, told the Israelites in the Ten Commandments that they could not consider any god, not even God the Father, to be more important to them than he was. To borrow a thought from Lowell Bennion, "It doesn't seem logical to me that Christ would ask in the Old Testament to be worshipped, and not have the Father worshipped as in other scriptures, in other dispensations" (Bennion 1980, 40).

Writing in the August 1990 issue of the *Ensign*, an official publication of the LDS church, Michael Rhodes answered the question, "Why do Latter-day Saints believe that Jesus Christ was Jehovah of the Old Testament?" After quoting scriptures that all seem to say implicitly or explicitly that Jesus acts as God, Rhodes concluded: "Latter-day Saints believe that Jesus Christ is Jehovah because it is true. It was known to be true anciently, by prophets in both the Old and New Worlds, and it has been made clear from the very beginning of our own dispensation. The Lord Jesus Christ himself has declared it unequivocally: he is Jehovah, the God of the Old Testament" (26-27).

Similarly, in the new *Encyclopedia of Mormonism* David R. Seely writes that "biblical passages indicate that Jesus Christ is Jehovah" and that "latter-day scriptures often refer to Jesus Christ, the Son, as Jehovah (e.g., D&C 110:3-4; Moro. 10:34)." He and Rhodes both use 1 Corinthians 10:1-4 as evidence that ancients also knew that Jesus was Jehovah (1992, 2:720-21).

Yet there is no evidence in the Old or New Testament that this doctrine was taught anciently. The use of the divine names Jehovah and Elohim in the Old Testament *never* supports the twentieth-century Mormon doctrine that Elohim is the father of Jehovah, that Jehovah, not Elohim, is the God of the Old Testament, or that Jehovah is Jesus Christ. Rather than being "occasionally ambiguous" in the Bible, as Seely claims, the divine names Elohim and Jehovah are both used unambiguously to refer to the same divine being, the one god of the Old Testament. Paul in 1 Corinthians 10 says that Christ was the spiritual rock that followed the Israelites in the wilderness. However, the Old Testament does not include in its story of the wanderings in the wilderness any rock which followed the Israelites around. So Paul is adding details to the Old Testament story. The Old Testament does not suggest, as Paul does, that the miraculous food and drink God gave to the wanderers in the wilderness had a spiritual component. Neither the Old Testament nor Paul says the Israelites understood Christ to be the source of their literal or spiritual nourishment.

Joseph Smith did not teach that Christ was Jehovah or that he was

God in the Old Testament. Rather than being taught "from the very beginning of our own dispensation," virtually no Mormon taught this until the 1870s and it was widely accepted only in the twentieth century. While Jesus in the Book of Mormon says that he was God of Israel, he also says that his Father was God of Israel. Moroni 10:34 which Seely offers as evidence that "latter-day scriptures often refer to Jesus Christ, the Son, as Jehovah," contains no reference to Jesus Christ at all. It says that Jehovah is the Eternal Judge—something said of both Christ and his Father.[30] Jesus never identifies himself in scripture as Jehovah. There is only one scriptural linking of Jesus with the name Jehovah, and in the same week Joseph Smith received that revelation he received a revelation calling the Father Jehovah and describing the Father as the God of Israel (D&C 109:4, 10, 22, 24, 29, 34, 42, 47, 56, 64, 68; and 110:3-4). These commentators misunderstand, misinterpret, and ignore the context of the scriptural texts they cite as support.

It is true that the Book of Mormon *does* teach that Jesus Christ was God of the Old Testament. But to use that idea without considering its theological setting guarantees misinterpretation. Not only did Book of Mormon people believe that Jesus Christ was God of Old Testament peoples, they believed Jesus Christ, son of God, was also God the Father—they were the same being. The Son and the Father were perceived as one God who manifested himself in different ways. Their roles, functions, and persons were not separate. If post-1840 Mormons feel obliged to accept Book of Mormon theology, they should accept Jesus as Father (not merely as the Father's representative), and as Supreme God, for it is as Father, the Supreme God, that Book of Mormon writers view Jesus as God of the Old Testament. If instead they accept tritheism, they should acknowledge that the Book of Mormon does not teach it.

Book of Mormon theology is generally modalistic. In the Book of Mormon, God and Jesus Christ are *not* distinct beings. Each does not have a distinct role to play; instead the same godly activities are attributed to both. As Mormon scholar Keith Norman recommended, "our emphasis on Christ as Jehovah, the God of the Old Testament," could use some examination (1985, 25; see also Bennion 1980, 40; Kirkland 1984, 36-44; Charles 1980, 37-38). Less politely Steven Epperson warns, "Recently we have been making the egregious error, based upon a tendentious and literal reading of a few isolated passages of scripture, to

30. Some examples from the Bible of God being the judge of everyone are: Ps. 7:11; 50:4-7; 75:7; 82:8; 94:2; Eccl. 3:17; Rom. 3:6; Heb. 12:23; 13:4. I have limited Old Testament references to those which use "God" or "Elohim" to anticipate objections that these Old Testament references might refer to Christ.

simply equate the pre-existent Jesus with the God of Israel in Hebrew scriptures. ... We do violence and disrespect to the person of the Father, to His people Israel, and to the doctrine and work given by the Father to the Son (3 Ne. 11:31-32) when we tell them that they had it wrong all along, and that Israel knows not whom she worships" (Epperson 1990, 3). Before we adopt portions of the Book of Mormon's theology, we should try to understand the beliefs it explicates and consider the effect those ideas will have on the rest of Mormon theology.

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CHAPTER 5

The Historicity of the Matthean Sermon on the Mount in 3 Nephi[1]

Stan Larson

The Book of Mormon proclaims that in 34 C.E. the resurrected Jesus Christ descended from heaven to a place in the New World called Bountiful and delivered a sermon patterned after the Matthean Sermon on the Mount (3 Ne. 12:1-14:27; cf. Matt. 5:3-7:27). Jesus ended his sermon by telling those present that they had just "heard the things which I have taught before I ascended to my Father" (3 Ne. 15:1). Following a few other instructions, Jesus told the people to "write these sayings" down after he left (16:4). Evidently they carried out this instruction to make a written record of what Jesus taught them, because the next day the twelve Nephite disciples were able to preach to the people "those same words which Jesus had spoken—nothing varying from the words which Jesus had spoken" (19:8). Later this second day the Book of Mormon people were again told to write down what Jesus told them (23:4). Consequently, if the Nephites did as told, this sermon of Jesus was recorded on the Large Plates of Nephi (26:7) very soon after it was delivered. Mormon, the fourth century C.E. prophet-historian, utilized these same plates to transcribe a copy of the sermon onto the Plates of Mormon (see 26:11). Joseph Smith affirmed that he translated the "reformed Egyptian" text on these plates (Morm. 9:32) into the English language. Smith's original dictation of this sermon to his scribe, Oliver

1. The present study is based on my "The Sermon on the Mount: What Its Textual Transformation Discloses Concerning the Historicity of the Book of Mormon," *Trinity Journal* 7 (Spring 1986): 23-45. This earlier article was reviewed prior to publication by John W. Welch, "Notes on the Greek Text of the Sermon on the Mount in Reference to 3 Nephi 12-14," 1985, unpublished; and after publication by Welch, *The Sermon at the Temple and the Sermon on the Mount*, 1990, 145-63.

Cowdery, occurred during May 1829, and the first edition of the Book of Mormon was published in March 1830. Assuming that Matthew 5:3-7:27 and 3 Nephi 12:1-14:27 both record a single sermon delivered by Jesus on two separate occasions—once in the Old World, once in the New—and allowing for differences due to different audiences, it should be instructive to compare the two accounts in detail. Hugh Nibley, professor emeritus of history and religion at Brigham Young University, has suggested that one must test the Book of Mormon "against its purported background" in antiquity (1967, 166; 1988, 148). Such a comparison of the two sermons provides an ideal test of the Book of Mormon as a real translation of an ancient text.

The comparison is complicated by the Book of Mormon's connection to the King James Version of the Bible (KJV). Since about the turn of the twentieth century, Mormon writers have suggested that Smith quoted directly from the KJV of Matthew when dictating the Book of Mormon account of Jesus' sermon. B. H. Roberts of the First Council of Seventy said that Smith "adopted our English translation" (B. Roberts 1904, 184; cf. Ostler 1987, 78). Sidney B. Sperry, Brigham Young University professor of religion, suggested that Smith used the KJV word for word "as long as the Sermon in the familiar rendering of Matthew 5-7 agreed substantially with the Nephite version" (1947, 190; 1967, 112). Hugh Nibley concurred that as long as the KJV "is correct there is every reason why it should be followed" (1961, 10; 1989, 215).

Such views imply that where the KJV has an incorrect text, it should not have been followed in the Book of Mormon. Thus Sperry maintained that in such cases Smith would have corrected the wording of the KJV "to conform with the text before him on the metal plates" (Sperry 1947, 190; 1967, 112). Roberts similarly affirmed that Smith first compared the KJV to the Book of Mormon records, and "when he found the sense of the passage on the Nephite plates superior to that in the English version he made such changes as would give the superior sense and clearness" (B. Roberts 1904, 191).

Sperry went on to argue that if the Book of Mormon should fail to make such corrections and instead copy corruptions or errors which accumulated over the centuries, then it "should be thrown out of court" because this "would be plain evidence that Joseph Smith did not translate from a really ancient text." In this context Sperry asserted that textual criticism could cast considerable light on "the asserted antiquity" of the Book of Mormon, since "critical tests can be most subtle and powerful in probing for slips on the part of unlearned impostors who offer amended biblical texts for the examination of the public" (1947, 171; 1967, 91). Nibley concurred that "one of the best established disciplines in the world is the critical examination of written texts to detect what in them is spurious and what is genuine" (1953, 830; 1989, 55). This is be-

cause the most significant indication used by textual critics in tracing relationships between documents is errors, since coincidental agreement is ruled out when two documents have the same telltale mistakes.

It is possible to identify places where errors, revisions, and additions have crept into the KJV. Published in 1611, the KJV relies on the Greek text of the New Testament available in the late sixteenth century. In the 381 years since then, hundreds of better and more ancient Greek, Latin, Syriac, and Coptic manuscripts have been discovered and brought us closer to the original Matthean text. This means that it is possible—given the opportunity of comparing the versions of Jesus' Sermon on the Mount in Matthew and 3 Nephi—to make tentative judgments about whether the Book of Mormon stands up to the tests of historicity Roberts, Sperry, and Nibley proposed. If the Book of Mormon varies from both the KJV and the earliest texts, one cannot pronounce judgment on the Book of Mormon version, since the Book of Mormon variation could be specific to its audience and setting in the New World. However, if the Book of Mormon text departs from the errors of the KJV and agrees with the most original Matthean texts, it supports the claim that the Book of Mormon is a genuine translation of an ancient document. On the other hand, if the Book of Mormon text sides with the later Greek text as seen in the KJV, this dependence would be strong evidence against its historicity. The reason for this is that the Book of Mormon on the American continent should know nothing of changes and additions to the Sermon on the Mount made in the Old World centuries after the original sermon, but should be a direct link to the real words of Jesus.

In this essay I will consider eight passages from Matthew about which a wide range of authorities agree that the KJV differs from the original text of the sermon and will then compare the Book of Mormon's version of these same passages. These comparisons provide an important basis for conclusions about the historicity of the Book of Mormon, specifically whether it provides a more reliable version of Jesus' sermon than the KJV.

Establishing the "original" text of Matthew's version of the sermon is a problematic process. All the New Testament documents were originally written in Greek, and since there is no evidence that anything was written down in Jesus' Aramaic language, the best scholars can do is establish the most accurate Greek text of the Matthean Sermon on the Mount. The KJV relies on the Greek text which was available in the late sixteenth century. The first Greek text to be printed was completed in January 1514 as part of the Complutensian Polyglot under the direction of Cardinal Ximénez, but due to the delay in receiving approval from Pope Leo X it was not actually published until about 1522 (Ximénez 1514). The first published Greek New Testament, the *Novum Instrumen-*

tum omne, was printed in 1516. This was the product of Dutch humanist scholar Desiderius Erasmus. For the Sermon on the Mount, the printer set type directly from the twelfth-century minuscule 2 to which Erasmus added some corrections from a fifteenth-century minuscule and a few more corrections from the extremely valuable (but little used) text of the twelfth-century minuscule 1 (Erasmus 1516, 7-15). Erasmus issued subsequent editions in 1519, 1522, 1527, and 1535 with the traditional title *Novum Testamentum*. This popular printed text crystallized for posterity that particular form of the Greek text found in the manuscripts Erasmus actually used.

The sumptuously printed third edition of Robert Stephanus' version in 1550 had the text of Erasmus along with the first critical apparatus of selected variant readings in the inner margin (Stephanus 1550, 6-12). Numerous folio and octavo editions were published by Theodore Beza from 1565 to 1604. The KJV, which was published in 1611, was primarily based on the 1572 second folio edition of the Bishops' Bible, using Beza's 1598 edition of the Greek text to make revisions. The printers Bonaventure and Abraham Elzevir published Greek New Testament editions in 1624 and 1633. It is this last edition which first employed the term Textus Receptus or "Received Text," pointing to its reliance on the generally accepted New Testament text in the previous editions (Finegan 1974, 8). Since the text for the Sermon on the Mount is precisely the same for Stephanus 1550 and Elzevir 1633, one can use the term Textus Receptus to refer to either. This name may lead to a belief in the text's unquestionable authority, but the Textus Receptus is only entitled to our respect insofar as it can be shown to conform with the best manuscripts. Only a few manuscripts, all of late origin, provide the basis of the printed Textus Receptus, but today many more manuscripts are available—hundreds of cursive manuscripts or minuscules going back to as early as the ninth century, more than thirty uncial or capital letter manuscripts from the fourth to the tenth centuries, and a papyrus of C.E. 200. One must not assume that a minuscule (which is generally of later date than an uncial) is necessarily of less value or always later than an uncial, for some ninth- to twelfth-century minuscules have a better text than many eighth- to tenth-century uncials.

To avoid confusion because of the variety of manuscripts available, I have tried to carefully consider my criteria for establishing the text of the Matthean passages I will be using. If one were to follow just one printed edition or a single manuscript as the best, there would be the danger of relying on the possible prejudices of that particular editor or the scribal idiosyncrasies of that one manuscript. If there is a passage in which two variant readings occur, there may always be some individual who would argue in favor of one reading over the other, no matter what the internal and external evidence indicates. To avoid discussing points

about which there may be a wide difference of scholarly opinion and to avoid the pitfall of dependence on any one source or of playing one set of scholars against another, I have examined all the major late-nineteenth- and twentieth-century critical editions of the Greek New Testament for their text of the Sermon on the Mount.[2]

The editors of these Greek editions reached their decisions by following different lines of evidence based on their own assessment of what were the most significant factors in each case. They represent a diverse range of critical positions. There is Constantinus Tischendorf's preference for his important discovery (Codex Sinaiticus of the fourth century) and B. F. Westcott and F. J. A. Hort's preference for the oldest uncial (Codex Vaticanus also of the fourth century) to counterbalance Hermann von Soden's preference for the Byzantine type whenever it is supported by one of his two other main recensions. There is the range from the committee decisions behind the Nestle-Aland twenty-sixth edition, the British and Foreign Bible Society edition, and R. V. G. Tasker's Greek edition of the New English Bible on the one hand, to the individual Roman Catholic scholarship of Augustinus Merk, José Bover, and José O'Callaghan and the stylistic eclecticism of G. D. Kilpatrick on the other.

Given this wide spectrum of scholarly judgment, it is a marvel that there are *any* significant passages in the Sermon on the Mount for which all of these authorities agree against the Textus Receptus. To be included among the passages I am using in this essay, all ten editions must print the reading (without brackets) in the main body of the text. In others words I rely not on majority agreement—which

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2. These various editions are: Constantinus Tischendorf, *Novum Testamentum Graece*, 8th ed., 2 vols. (Leipzig: Giesecke & Devrient, 1869-72); B. F. Westcott and F. J. A. Hort, *The New Testament in the Original Greek*, 2 vols. (Cambridge and London: Macmillan and Co., 1881); Hermann von Soden, *Die Schriften des Neuen Testaments* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1913); [The British and Foreign Bible Society,] *H KAINH ΔIAHKH*, 2d ed., [edited by G. D. Kilpatrick] (London: The British and Foreign Bible Society, 1958); G. D. Kilpatrick, *Matthew: A Greek-English Diglot* (London: The British and Foreign Bible Society, 1959); Eberhard Nestle, Erwin Nestle, and Kurt Aland, *Novum Testamentum Graece*, 25th ed. (Stuttgart: Württembergische Bibelanstalt, 1963); R. V. G. Tasker, *The Greek New Testament: Being the Text Translated in the New English Bible, 1961* (Oxford: Oxford University Press and Cambridge University Press, 1964); Augustinus Merk, *Novum Testamentum Graece et Latine*, 9th ed. (Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1964); José M. Bover and José O'Callaghan, *Nuevo Testamento Trilingüe* (Madrid: Biblioteca de Autores Cristianos, 1977); Kurt Aland and Barbara Aland, *Nestle-Aland Novum Testamentum Graece*, 26th ed. (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelstiftung, 1979). This twenty-sixth edition differs from the twenty-fifth edition (Nestle, Nestle, and Aland 1963) in at least 925 places. The twenty-sixth edition is the same text as found in two other publications: Kurt Aland, *Synopsis Quattuor Evangeliorum*, 13th ed. (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1985), and Kurt Aland et al., *The Greek New Testament*, 3d ed. cor. (New York: United Bible Societies, 1983).

among such diverse scholarly opinion would be significant—but on unanimous agreement. To further reduce the number of available examples and to provide even stronger restrictions on possible choices, the reading agreed on by these editions must also have support from the earliest and best Greek manuscripts, from each of the three earliest translations, and from a pre-Nicean patristic writer. What this means is that each variant selected not only must be printed in the above ten works but also must receive support from the C.E. 200 papyrus 64 (where extant), from at least the two oldest uncial codices of the fourth century, and from at least the most reliable group of minuscules—family 1 of the tenth to fourteenth centuries (Lake 1902); from the Latin with at least some Old Latin support, from the Syriac, and from the Coptic; and from a patristic writer of the second or third centuries (whenever there is a patristic quotation prior to the fourth century for that specific verse).

Applying these restrictions leaves only eight passages. The evidence on which I based my conclusions about these passages is provided in the Technical Appendix to this essay. In each of the following eight passages, evidence argues strongly against the Textus Receptus and favors the modern critical Greek text. The internal and external evidence discussed in the appendix demonstrates that all eight textual variants are later additions or revisions to the text. For the convenience of readers, an English rendition of the critical Greek text as well as the Textus Receptus is presented for each passage under consideration. For the critical text, the 1989 edition of the New Revised Standard Version (NRSV) has been used, although almost any modern English version of the New Testament could have been used since it would be based on one of the twentieth-century Greek editions. For the Textus Receptus, the wording of the 1828 Phinney edition of the KJV (rather than the text of the original 1611 edition) has been followed, since it provides an early nineteenth-century American printing of that version. The 1830 edition of the Book of Mormon will be juxtaposed at these crucial junctures.[3] The dictated

3. While the point of comparison is the Book of Mormon, the question arises as to how these passages are handled in the version known as the Joseph Smith Revision (JSR) of the KJV. The JSR, sometimes referred to as the Inspired Version or the Joseph Smith Translation, has not been substantiated by modern manuscript discovery as an "inspired textual restoration" of the original wording of the New Testament (Barney 1986, 100). Robert Millet, BYU professor of religion, admits that it is difficult to know when a revision by Smith "represents a restoration of lost textual material or events or when it represents inspired prophetic commentary" (Millet 1985, 84). The Sermon on the Mount portion of the JSR was dictated between 8 March and 4 April 1831. In each of the eight selected examples from the Sermon on the Mount the JSR does not agree with the original text. In six instances it simply copies the KJV and the Book of Mormon. At the

Original Manuscript (*O*) for the Book of Mormon is not extant for these chapters. However, the Printer's Manuscript (*P*) exists, and an examination of each of the examples shows no significant textual variation between the manuscript and the 1830 publication.

Example 1

Matthew 5:27 (NRSV)	**Matthew 5:27 (KJV)**	**3 Nephi 12:27**
You have heard that it was said, "You shall not commit adultery."	You have heard that it was said *by them of old time,* Thou shalt not commit adultery:	Behold, it is written *by them of old time,* that thou shalt not commit adultery;

The Book of Mormon agrees with the Textus Receptus not the original text and includes the later phrase "by them of old time." John W. Welch, a BYU professor of law, admits that "the best early manuscripts" lack *tois archaiois* at Matthew 5:27, but he errs in saying that "the KJV and the Sermon at the Temple [in the Book of Mormon] capture a correct meaning when they include the phrase 'by them of old time' in verse 27" (1990, 148). First, the phrase *tois archaiois* is not in the original text of Matthew 5:27, and second, the KJV mistranslates the phrase and the Book of Mormon simply follows this mistranslation. The KJV mistranslates as if it were a dative of agent. (For a genuine dative of agent, see the Greek *auto* at Luke 23:15, which should be translated "by him" instead of the KJV mistranslation "unto him.") The dative *tois archaiois* should be translated "to them of old," and it is so clearly a mistranslation that the New King James Bible has changed it to "it was said to those of old."[4]

The Book of Mormon at 3 Nephi 12:21, 27 demonstrates its dependence on the KJV by using the KJV mistranslation at Matthew 5:21, 27. If one were to suggest that the Book of Mormon speaks of what was *written* by people of old and not what was *said* to them, it merely underscores the impression that the Book of Mormon represents a reaction to the English KJV text.

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two other instances the text of the JSR either conflates the differing KJV and Book of Mormon texts (see n5) or revises the KJV (see n6).

4. Remember, the KJV was not a fresh translation from Greek into English but a revision "with the former translations diligently compared and revised," using as the main text the 1572 second folio edition of the Bishops' Bible (Hammond 1982, 144). In this case the Bishops' Bible had the preposition "vnto" which the KJV incorrectly changed to "by" and relegated the preposition "to" to the margin. The rendition of the Bishops' Bible goes back to William Tyndale's "vnto them off thee olde tyme" in 1526.

Example 2

Matthew 5:30 (NRSV)	**Matthew 5:30 (KJV)**	**3 Nephi 12:29-30**
And if your right hand causes you to sin, cut it off and throw it away; it is better for you to lose one of your members than for your whole body *to go into hell.*	And if thy right hand offend thee, cut it off, and cast it from thee: for it is profitable for thee that one of thy members should perish, and not that thy whole body should be cast into hell.	Behold, I give unto you a commandment, that ye suffer none of these things to enter into your heart: for it is, better that ye should deny yourselves of these things, wherein ye will take up your cross, than that ye should be cast into hell.

Clearly the Book of Mormon revises this passage, but it retains that part of the KJV which has been questioned by modern scholarship. That the Book of Mormon replaces the corresponding Matthean passage is shown by the fact that the verses immediately before and after this section in the Book of Mormon correspond to the verses in the KJV before and after Matthew 5:29-30. In this Book of Mormon replacement the Lord commands the Nephites not to allow into their hearts any thoughts of lust, because he says (in wording reminiscent of Matthew 16:24) that it is better to deny themselves of these things and take up their cross than that they "should be cast into hell" (3 Ne. 12:30). Because of these last five words, the Book of Mormon version is not a complete replacement of the corresponding Matthean verses. The Book of Mormon retains the suspect KJV words,[5] but the earliest New Testament texts have the variant reading "go into hell." The evidence, then, sug-

5. It is useful to examine how this passage is handled in the JSR. First, in New Testament manuscript 1 of the JSR, in the handwriting of Sidney Rigdon, the text of 3 Nephi 12:29-30 is quoted and then Matthew 5:29 is quoted from the 1828 Phinney edition of the KJV. In the original transcript of the manuscript there is an omission of Matthew 5:30 at a point where Matthew 5:29-30 share exactly the same twenty-nine words. Probably what happened was that Matthew 5:30 was accidentally skipped due to homoeoteleuton, just like the error in Codex Bezae and the Sinaitic Syriac (see Example 2 in the Technical Appendix). However, this omission was later noticed and a slip of paper was pinned to the manuscript with the missing text of Matthew 5:30 as well as the following reflection on the figurative nature of the passage: "And now this I speak, a parable concerning your sins; wherefore, cast them from you, that ye may not be hewn down and cast into the fire." This conflation of three different sources was copied by John Whitmer into New Testament manuscript 2 of the JSR and into the published Inspired Version of 1867. Neither the Book of Mormon revision nor the wording unique to the JSR is supported by ancient sources.

gests that the Book of Mormon follows the KJV in having the later, secondary text.

Example 3

Matthew 7:2 (NRSV)	**Matthew 7:2 (KJV)**	**3 Nephi 14:2**
For with the judgment you make you will be judged, and the measure you give will be the measure you get.	For with what judgment ye judge, ye shall be judged: and with what measure ye mete, it shall be measured to you *again*.	For with what judgement ye judge, ye shall be judged: and with what measure ye mete, it shall be measured to you *again*.

The Book of Mormon at 3 Nephi 14:2 follows the later form of the text which is found in the KJV. The "again" at the end of the verse is due to an assimilation to the parallel at Luke 6:38. Welch downplays the difference among the variants at Matthew 7:2 by saying that the difference is "negligible," but it is often such fine distinctions that are clues in textual criticism and such variants can be detected in translation (Welch 1990, 155). For example, it can usually (but not always) be shown what Greek text the Latin, Syriac, and Coptic versions were based upon. Similarly the English KJV can be shown (though there has never been any controversy about it) to have been based on the later Greek Textus Receptus *antimetrethesetai* ("it will be measured ... in return").

Example 4

Matthew 5:44 (NRSV)	**Matthew 5:44 (KJV)**	**3 Nephi 12:44**
But I say to you: Love your enemies and pray for those who persecute you,	but behold I say unto you, Love your enemies, *bless them that curse you, do good to them that hate you,* and pray for them which *despitefully use you and* persecute you,	but behold I say unto you, Love your enemies, *bless them that curse you, do good to them that hate you,* and pray for them which *despitefully use you and* persecute you,

Again the Book of Mormon includes the later material found in the KJV. Welch concedes that the earliest manuscripts support the shorter text of Matthew 5:44 and that later Matthean texts incorporated addi-

tional words from the synoptic parallel at Luke 6:27-28, but he justifies the Book of Mormon inclusion of this later material because it is found in Luke 6:27-28, and accordingly "it is possible to believe that he [Jesus] said the longer saying in Bountiful" (Welch 1985, 12). In another study Welch asserted that it is possible either the shorter text was on the golden plates and Joseph Smith expanded it during the translation process to the full text of Luke 6:27-28 (ignoring the fact that the Book of Mormon text is the same as the KJV at Matt. 5:44) or the full text of Luke 6:27-28 was on the plates as part of the Matthean sermon and translated correctly by Joseph Smith (Welch 1990, 156). Certainly it is possible to believe almost anything, but the probability is that the material in the extra clauses represents Lucan redaction and that the simpler text in the earliest form of Matthew is original.

This verse is such a complex combination of Lucan phrases added to the Matthean original, it is unlikely that anyone could have guessed the shorter, original text of Matthew 5:44 before the more ancient manuscripts were found. Mapping out the variants displays the development and derivation of this text in the New Testament manuscript tradition (see the Technical Appendix for these variants). At 3 Nephi 12:44 the Book of Mormon again aligns itself with the later text (Matthew 5:44 in the KJV) and has neither the original nor any of the ancient variants. Welch acknowledges that there are "those who might see this point here to be more of a problem for the Book of Mormon" than the other examples (1990, 156).

Examples 5-7

Matthew 6:4, 6, 18 (NRSV)	**Matthew 6:4, 6, 18 (KJV)**	**3 Nephi 13:4, 6, 18**
so that your alms may be done in secret; and your Father who sees in secret will reward you.	That thine alms may be in secret: and thy Father, which seeth in secret, himself shall reward thee *openly*.	that thine alms may be in secret: and thy Father which seeth in secret, himself shall reward thee *openly*.
But whenever you pray, go into your room and shut the door and pray to your Father who is in secret; and your Father who sees in secret will reward you	But thou, when thou prayest, enter into thy closet, and when thou hast shut thy door, pray to thy Father which is in secret; and thy Father, which seeth in secret, shall reward thee *openly*.	But thou, when thou prayest, enter into thy closet, and when thou hast shut thy door, pray to thy Father which is in secret; and thy Father, which seeth in secret, shall reward thee *openly*.

so that your fasting may be seen not by others but by your Father who is in secret; and your Father who sees in secret will reward you.	That thou appear not unto men to fast, but unto thy Father which is in secret: and thy Father, which seeth in secret, shall reward thee *openly.*	that thou appear not unto men, to fast, but unto thy Father, which is in secret: and thy Father, which seeth in secret, shall reward thee *openly.*

At the end of these three verses the Book of Mormon follows the later text of the KJV, with its addition of "openly." In an effort to justify the existence of "openly" in the Book of Mormon, Welch asserts that this "conveys the only possible meaning of these verses," which is that "God will openly reward the righteous with treasures in heaven on the judgment day" (1990, 156). Others interpret these verses quite differently, for their simple message seems to be that God's reward "may be no more ostentatious than the secret deed" (Clark 1980, 151), the inner feeling of peace from having done the right thing. God's promise is that proper recompense will come—without specifying how or when.

Example 8

Matthew 6:13 (NRSV)	**Matthew 6:13 (KJV)**	**3 Nephi 13:13**
And do not bring us to the time of trial, but rescue us from the evil one.	And lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from evil: *for thine is the kingdom, and the power, and glory, for ever. Amen.*	And lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from evil. *For thine is the kingdom, and the power, and the glory, for ever. Amen.*

Both the Book of Mormon and the KJV share the later addition. The significance of this example is enhanced by the popularity of the Lord's Prayer. In the New Testament manuscript tradition there are thirteen known variant forms of the doxology (i.e, "For thine is the kingdom, and the power, and the glory, for ever. Amen."). The earliest sources contain no doxology, and twelve variants range from the simple, one-word *amen* to Chrysostom's intricate trinitarian formula, though the majority of manuscripts have the traditional three-part doxology.[6] The

6. The JSR alters the text of the KJV and the Book of Mormon in a direction further away from the original text, for in the doxology of Matthew 6:13 this text expands the KJV "for ever" to "forever and forever" (New Testament manuscript 1, JSR). This was copied by John Whitmer as "forever & ever" (New Testament manuscript 2, JSR) and published in

Book of Mormon at 3 Nephi 13:13 follows the late, traditional doxology, and has no revised wording to coincide with one of the early variant forms (see the Technical Appendix at Example 8). The evidence derived from datable documents clearly shows in Matthew 6:13 the growth and development of theological ideas.

Hugh Nibley has claimed that the oldest Greek manuscripts contained the doxology, but when pressed concerning this assertion, he retreated, saying that the doxology "should have been" in the earliest Matthean manuscripts (1990, 47-48). Welch acknowledges that the earliest New Testament manuscripts lack the doxology but argues in a circular manner that the fuller text of the Lord's Prayer in Matthew is the original and is to be preferred over the Lucan form, since the former is the one found in the Book of Mormon (1976, 16-17; cf. McConkie 1965, 237). The problem with the doxology is not only that the earliest manuscript evidence lacks any such form but also that the fixed form of the doxology probably did not develop, as Welch says, "until 50 or so years after the Gospel of Matthew was written" (Welch 1985, 14). The Book of Mormon sermon in 3 Nephi 12-14 is said to have been delivered in 34 C.E.

Nibley, in an attempt to justify the Book of Mormon's inclusion of the doxology, makes several assertions concerning the Lord's Prayer: "The older Aramaic form of the prayer required forgive 'our debts' which the Greek of Luke changes to forgive 'our *sins*.' This vindicates ... the reading there [3 Ne. 13:11] of 'debts' instead of 'sins'" (1978, 51, emphasis in original; 1987, 56). What Nibley does not mention is that the Matthean form is "our debts" and the Book of Mormon simply follows the words of the English KJV for Matthew 6:12. In fact, the evidence Nibley quotes, from Joachim Jeremias, goes against the Book of Mormon, affirming a gradual development of the doxology. The chronology of the Book of Mormon requires a full-blown doxology in 34 C.E.

Although Welch tries at each point to demonstrate the possibility, plausibility, or even probability of the Book of Mormon version, his argument remains unconvincing. Welch does not acknowledge that in

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the Inspired Version of 1867. Also while revising the gospel of Luke, Joseph Smith took the words "for thine is the kingdom and the power. Amen" from part of this traditional Matthean doxology in the KJV and added them to the end of Luke 11:4. This shortened form is not found as a variant reading at either Matthew 6:13 or Luke 11:4. The JSR may here be typical of how doxologies tend to grow onto various texts, but it is certainly not the original text of Luke 11:4. After mentioning the scholarly support for omitting "without a cause" at Matthew 5:22 and the lack of that support in including the doxology at Matthew 6:13, Robert A. Cloward can only say: "Those who are inclined to disparage or vindicate the JST by comparing individual changes with modern biblical criticism concentrate on trees and miss the forest" (1985, 200).

each of the instances where there is abundant textual variation, not only in Greek manuscripts but also in Latin, Syriac, Coptic, and patristic texts, the Book of Mormon never follows either what is almost unanimously considered to be the original text or any of the early developments from the original text in the Old World. Instead the Book of Mormon always follows the secondary text seen in the late Textus Receptus, codified in the English language in the KJV of 1611.

Because the Book of Mormon version of the Sermon on the Mount agrees with the KJV rather than the earliest Greek text at these eight points, its dependence on the KJV is apparent. Wherever the Book of Mormon has revised or added to the KJV text, the variant in the Book of Mormon does not relate to the ancient variants known in the manuscripts. Not only do the distinctive Book of Mormon additions and revisions to the KJV never receive ancient support, but also the important Book of Mormon omissions—except one—do not receive such support (Legg 1940).

Only the following Book of Mormon omission seems to receive ancient support.

Matthew 5:22 (NRSV)	**Matthew 5:22 (KJV)**	**3 Nephi 12:22**
But I say to you that if you are angry with a brother or sister, you will be liable to judgment;	But I say unto you, That whosoever is angry with his brother *without a cause* shall be in danger of the judgment:	But I say unto you, that whosoever is angry with his brother, shall be in danger of his judgement.

Welch argues that this passage fulfills my criteria and should be included with the eight examples: "While lacking unanimous consensus in the early manuscripts (which is not unusual), the absence of the phrase 'without a cause' from the Sermon on the Mount is evidenced by manuscripts p^{64}, p^{67}, Sinaiticus (original hand), Vaticanus, some minuscules, the Latin Vulgate (Jerome mentions that it was not found in the oldest manuscripts known to him), Justin, Tertullian, Origen, and others. ... A check of the list of manuscripts supporting the Sermon at the Temple [Book of Mormon] and the original absence of the phrase 'without a cause' in Matthew 5:22 shows that this shorter reading meets Larson's criteria" (1990, 162).

On the contrary, this passage does not meet the criteria which were used to select my eight examples: Augustinus Merk prints *eike* 'without a cause' with brackets in his text, and there is absolutely no support from family 1, the Syriac, and the Coptic. Welch is mistaken in citing

both p^{64} and p^{67} as different documents, since the "two" papyri are simply two numbers for different parts of the same papyrus (Roca-Puig 1962, 63-64). Thus Matthew 5:22 was eliminated from consideration with the eight secure examples. However, since it is the one Book of Mormon example which has been used as strong evidence for the Book of Mormon's antiquity, it will perhaps be useful to examine it in detail (Welch 1977, 47; cf. Matthews 1975, 251).

The absence or presence of *eike* at Matthew 5:22 is a genuinely ambiguous case, with significant evidence on both sides of the question. Welch has already given the evidence for its omission. Its presence is supported by the remainder of the uncials and minuscules, most of the Old Latin manuscripts (including the important Codex Bobiensis), three manuscripts of the Vulgate, all the Syriac versions (including the important Sinaitic Syriac), both the Sahidic and the Bohairic versions, Irenaeus, part of Origen, and Cyprian (Black 1988, 5-6). Also, the presence of homoeoarchton, which is an accidental error caused by the eye skipping from the beginning of one word to the same beginning in another word, favors the original presence of *eike*. The skip would have been from the epsilon at the beginning of *eike* to the epsilon at the beginning of the next word, that is, from *eike* to *enochos*.

Due to this uncertainty, a decision concerning the reading remains tentative. Accordingly, Merk shows due caution in bracketing *eike* because there is not a clear-cut case concerning "without a cause" at Matthew 5:22. In view of the equivocal nature of the textual evidence the editors of the United Bible Societies *Greek New Testament* in their four-level system of grading the relative degree of certainty concerning the originality of a reading ranked the absence of *eike* as a C-rating. Consequently, though the case is not clear-cut and there is evidence that it may be an accidental omission in the Greek, on balance I would lean to the opinion that *eike* "without a cause" was not originally at Matthew 5:22.

The absence of *eike* was known before 1830 when the Book of Mormon appeared, since it was discussed by Desiderius Erasmus, John Mill, Johann Wettstein, Johann Griesbach, and Andreas Birch in reference to the Greek text, not translated in William Tyndale's New Testament from 1526 to 1535, and popularized by various English writers. For example, the Methodist writer, Adam Clarke, whose multi-volume biblical commentary was first published in London in 1810 with at least ten American printings and editions in New York from 1811 to 1829, suggested that it was a marginal gloss which later entered into the text (Clarke 1825). It is interesting that Clarke favors the omission of *eike* at Matthew 5:22 and the retention of the doxology at Matthew 6:13 and that the Book of Mormon follows Clarke's decision in these two passages. However, not too much significance

should be attached to this agreement since Clarke appears to favor the omission of *tois archaiois* at Matthew 5:27 and the omission of *en to phanero* at Matthew 6:18, and the Book of Mormon does not have these omissions. However, the Book of Mormon omission of "without a cause" need not depend on any of these sources, since the phrase could have been deleted simply because it detracted from the strength of Jesus' command against anger. It has been suggested that the ancient support which this Book of Mormon deletion received could be due to "a coincidence caused by a problem with the wording of the KJV" (Barney 1986, 89). Since there could be coincidental agreement, the same omission in two separate texts is not significant in establishing a connection between them. What is important in textual criticism is the same distinctive addition, peculiar error, or the same alternate reading.

It is significant to note that among the thirty-eight known variants and sub-variants of these eight secure examples, the Book of Mormon *always* aligns itself with the derivative text found in the Textus Receptus which was printed by Stephanus in 1550 and *never* agrees with either the original text or any of the other known variant readings. If the Book of Mormon were a genuinely ancient text, it would not always be expected to side with what modern scholarship concludes is the original text, but certainly there ought to be some agreement. Just as a careful comparison of Gabriel Sionita's 1633 Harclean Syriac Apocalypse discloses his conjectural emendations, which were based on late Erasmian Greek and Clementine Vulgate texts, so an exhaustive examination reveals that this Book of Mormon sermon depends on the 1550 Textus Receptus, as relied on by the English text of the KJV.

Though many Latter-day Saint scholars now admit that the KJV was used in the production of the Book of Mormon, there are still a few who prefer the position that Joseph Smith did not use the KJV or that God chose to quote from the KJV (Petersen 1979, 52-56; Welch 1990, 131-36; Skousen 1990, 55). The issue then becomes to what extent does a direct connection exist between the Book of Mormon and the KJV. Precise parallelism challenges the claim that the Book of Mormon is an independent translation of the biblical passages.

Unfortunately, the text of the sermon at 3 Nephi 12-14 has not survived in the original dictated manuscript of the Book of Mormon, but there are four pages in the extant portions of that manuscript which contain a long biblical quotation. Scrutiny of these pages discloses a revealing textual correction in the original manuscript. At 1 Nephi 20:11 the words of Isaiah 48:11 "how should *my name* be polluted" (notice the two words that are italicized in the KJV) were revised initially to "how should I suffer my [na]me to be polluted," then the KJV words "how should" and the Book of Mormon "I" were crossed out and a supra-lin-

ear revision gave the final Book of Mormon declaration "I will not suffer my name to be polluted." This revision shows that for a biblical quotation in the Book of Mormon, Joseph Smith used the English KJV as a base text for the revision later embodied in the Book of Mormon.[7]

The Book of Mormon text often revises biblical quotations at the very point where the original 1611 edition of the KJV prints the word or words in a different typeface in order to indicate that the words are not found in the Greek. This printing device was both inconsistently and sparsely applied in the 1611 KJV and improved in the 1769 printing. When Smith came to the KJV italics in the Sermon on the Mount, which he knew indicated that whatever was printed in italics was not in the original Greek, he would often either drop the word or revise it. The Book of Mormon sometimes revises the KJV italics that are only found in the 1769 and later printings. For example, the Book of Mormon drops the italics of the 1769 printing at Matthew 6:5, 7; 7:18 (3 Ne. 13:5, 7; 14:18), and the Book of Mormon changes the tense of the italics at Mat-

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7. The close connection of the text of the Book of Mormon to the KJV is further illustrated by the fact that *P* at 3 Nephi 12:36 has "thy head," which is the text of the KJV at Matthew 5:36, even though this reading was not printed in the Book of Mormon until the 1981 edition. On the other hand it cannot be argued that the phrase "on earth" in the Lord's Prayer at 3 Nephi 13:10 better translates the Greek, since the original Book of Mormon text, found in *P* and all the early editions, is "in earth" just as in the KJV at Matthew 6:10.

There are biblical quotations in the Book of Mormon, such as 2 Nephi 8:15, 23:8, where the foreshortened Book of Mormon text can best be explained as due to Smith's accidentally skipping over some words while reading aloud from his copy of the KJV during the dictation process. For a discussion of the conjectural emendation necessary at 2 Nephi 8:15; 23:8, see Larson 1978, 567-68. Unfortunately, this article was edited by Charles D. Tate, at the time editor of *Brigham Young University Studies*, who expunged the following statements that should have appeared as the second paragraph on page 564 of the above article:

> Another factor to consider [in assessing the need to apply conjectural emendation to the Book of Mormon text] is the biblical quotations within the Book of Mormon, since Sidney B. Sperry admits that Joseph Smith "may have used the King James Version" and then made revisions when the text on the plates warranted it (*Book of Mormon Compendium*, 507). The fact that about half of the Isaiah verses that are quoted in the Book of Mormon are exactly the same as the KJV, and that many of the others are the same except at the very point where the KJV has italics, and finally that the Original Manuscript of 1 Nephi 20:11 shows the KJV text before being changed into the Book of Mormon revision, all tend to make this admission of possible use into a certainty. Since the English Bible may at any point be unintentionally misread, this is another possible source of error and is quite possibly the explanation for the omissions of biblical text involved in the passages at 2 Nephi 8:15 and 2 Nephi 23:8.

These words evidently stated too clearly that Joseph Smith plagiarized from the KJV when dictating the biblical quotations in the Book of Mormon.

thew 5:12 (3 Ne. 12:12). On the other hand, the Book of Mormon fails to revise places where the KJV text ought to have been printed in italics but is not. In two places the Book of Mormon copies the noun "men" from the KJV, where it is not in the original Greek and has been improperly added in the KJV.[8]

These considerations prompt one to date the origin of the Book of Mormon account of Jesus' sermon after 1769 and before 1830 when the Book of Mormon was published. This analysis based on textual criticism confirms that of Krister Stendahl, former dean of the Harvard divinity school, that the Book of Mormon text of the sermon is not a genuine translation from an ancient language but Smith's nineteenth-century targumic expansion of the English KJV. Among other things Stendahl discussed the implications of the Book of Mormon extension of a miracle from a single person to a multitude at 2 Nephi 11:14-15, the "targumizing" expansion at 3 Nephi 12:23-24, and the "rationalizing" expansion at 3 Nephi 12:26 (Stendahl 1978, 141, 144-45; 1984, 101, 103-104). Stendahl indicated that apocryphal documents have such clarifying expansions and rational explanations and concluded that "it seems very clear that the Book of Mormon belongs to and shows many of the typical signs of the Targums and the pseudepigraphic recasting of biblical material" (Stendahl 1978, 152; 1984, 111). The presence of relatively late Johannine elements in the Book of Mormon account in 3 Nephi also is telling evidence of its own dependence on the KJV.

An argument could be made that Joseph Smith decided simply to copy from the KJV, to which he had immediate access, those verses which paralleled material on the plates. But so much of the Book of Mormon is composed of biblical and biblical-sounding passages, including some which post-date the exodus of Book of Mormon people from the Near East, that one wonders how much the Book of Mormon's value as corroboration for the Bible is diluted by its dependence on the KJV.

In terms of attempting to pinpoint the origin of the Book of Mormon, even more significant than Book of Mormon revisions are places where it follows the KJV into error, echoing mistranslations or including translations of late and derivative Greek texts. Certainly the Book of Mormon should not have the same errors which displaced the original and crept into the text over the centuries. Since to plagiarize means to

8. The third person plural verbs "they light" at Matthew 5:15 (3 Ne. 12:15) and "they gather" at Matthew 7:16 (3 Nephi 14:16) are used without an explicit subject and are better expressed in English as the impersonal "one lights" and "one gathers" (Turner 1963, 292-93).

appropriate and use, without acknowledgment, the words of another, one must here use the term—as harsh as it may sound—to characterize Smith's dependence on the KJV. The Book of Mormon account of Jesus' sermon in 3 Nephi 12-14 originated in the nineteenth century, derived from unacknowledged plagiarism of the KJV. Smith copied the KJV blindly, not showing awareness of translation problems and errors in the KJV. Yet the Book of Mormon is not a slavish copy of the KJV—there are numerous words deleted, revised, or added to the text. Rather than translate from an ancient document, Smith seems to have quoted from Matthew 5-7 of the KJV and to have made certain revisions as a response to the English text of the KJV.

The Book of Mormon cannot be exempted from such textual criticism by emphasizing that translation inevitably introduces elements from the translator's environment. The Book of Mormon describes a process of transmission which is not that far removed from certain other texts. The Book of Mormon claims to be an English translation from a text on gold plates inscribed by Mormon using "reformed Egyptian" (Morm. 9:32) in the fourth century but derived directly from contemporary records written in the Nephite language in C.E. 34. The transmission of the New Testament manuscript known as the Sinaitic Syriac parallels that of the Book of Mormon—at least for the first two stages. The Sinaitic Syriac, which was discovered in the late nineteenth century, is a palimpsest or manuscript in which the original writing has been scraped off and other writing placed on top. This fourth-century Syriac manuscript contains a late second-century translation from the original Greek of the New Testament, which in turn is assumed to be a translation of the Aramaic words of Jesus. The manuscript was translated into English in the late nineteenth century. Naturally the underwriting of the Sinaitic Syriac has certain identifiable scribal errors and unique readings, which may or may not represent the original text. Still the English translation can be shown to represent a very early stratum of the developing text of the Sermon on the Mount, almost always supporting the earliest known Greek texts and not the Textus Receptus (Lewis 1910). If it translates an ancient text, the Book of Mormon similarly should fit into its historical context, even if one views it through an English translation.

There is general agreement that the climax of the Book of Mormon narrative is the dramatic account of the visit of the resurrected Jesus to the Nephite people and his teachings to them. Unfortunately, at the juncture where the Book of Mormon could offer a fresh translation directly from the valuable fourth-century inscription of a first-century document, one finds a reaction to the late and corrupted text of the KJV. A variety of examples has shown that the Book of Mormon text follows errors of the KJV, but no clear evidence shows the

Book of Mormon restoring the long-lost original. The various discoveries of biblical manuscripts in the last four hundred years have provided an increasingly better understanding of specific passages in the Sermon on the Mount. In each of the passages we have examined, the earlier and better manuscripts of the gospel of Matthew take us back to the earliest ascertainable form of the sermon, but the Book of Mormon never takes us to a verifiable text in antiquity.

According to Hugh Nibley, "We can never prove absolutely that the Book of Mormon is what it claims to be; but any serious proven fault in the work would at once condemn it. If I assume the Book of Mormon to be fraudulent, then whatever is correct in it is merely a lucky coincidence, devoid of any real significance. But if I assume that it is true, then any suspicious passage is highly significant and casts suspicion on the whole thing, no matter how much of it is right" (1953, 831; all but the first clause has been deleted in Nibley 1989, 56).

We need not agree that Book of Mormon dependence on errors in the KJV Sermon on the Mount "casts suspicion on the whole" text of the Book of Mormon. My conclusions are confined to 3 Nephi 12-14. On purely text-critical grounds, the historicity of 3 Nephi 12-14 is suspect. Nowhere in the Book of Mormon version of Jesus' sermon is there any indisputable evidence of its being a translation from an ancient document (Ashment 1980). One can never prove that something did not happen. All that can be said is that there is no evidence to substantiate the view that the Book of Mormon records a real visit by the resurrected Jesus to the place called Bountiful in the Book of Mormon.

Technical Appendix: Establishing the Matthean Text

I will examine each of the eight passages from the Sermon on the Mount in some detail, presenting English translations of the two major forms and summarizing the external evidence supporting both the modern critical Greek text and the Textus Receptus. Also whenever the margin of the edition of Stephanus has a variant reading, this information is cited in order to indicate what variants were already known by the middle of the sixteenth century (Stephanus 1550). It is important to see the strength and array of the documentary evidence on both sides of each textual question in order to evaluate rival readings and decide which among them is the original from which the others sprang. The external evidence will be cited in the following order: the Greek manuscripts (the papyrus, the uncials, and then the minuscules), the text and margin of the 1550 Textus Receptus, the Latin, Syriac, and Coptic witnesses, and last the early patristic writers. The examples have been grouped into three categories: passages that show either influence from

the immediate context (Examples 1-2) or influence from the Lucan parallel (Examples 3-4) or a textual addition (Examples 5-8).

The modern critical text found in examples 1, 3, and 5 (third instance) is preferred because it is based on more reliable and better quality manuscripts, not because it happens to be supported by the majority of Greek manuscripts (Hodges and Farstad 1982). Counting the number of manuscripts in support of a particular reading is not nearly as significant as weighing their intrinsic value (Metzger 1968, 158). Because some texts received ecclesiastical authorization, they were copied into manuscripts more frequently than earlier, more reliable texts. The readings of the modern critical text in the other examples are supported by considerably fewer manuscripts, but these manuscripts are demonstrably older and of better quality.

Careful evaluation of the evidence means considering the date of the manuscripts, their geographical distribution, and their genealogical relationships (Metzger 1968, 209). In each instance the possibility of either intentional alteration or unintentional corruption must be considered. Most often losses were due to unintentional errors of the eye, ear, and/or hand, while additions to the text were due to scribal alteration. One of the most important principles of textual criticism, especially applicable to intentional changes, is *difficilior lectio potior*: the harder reading is to be preferred (Taylor 1961, 4). The difficulty of the original reading leads to revised readings, which were made by scribes to solve or clarify the problem.

An independent investigation of unintentional alterations made during an oral recitation of the Book of Mormon found that errors occurred due to misreadings caused by similar appearance of words, by immediate context, and by adding or deleting letters or words (Larson 1977, 27-28). A variety of diversified and early external support and differing transcriptional and intrinsic internal considerations have led to strong preference for the modern critical Greek text over the sixteenth-century Textus Receptus.

Examples 1 and 2 illustrate how change occurs due to influence from the immediate context.

Example 1

Matthew 5:27 (NRSV)	**Matthew 5:27 (KJV)**
You have heard that it was said, "You shall not commit adultery."	Ye have heard that it was said *by them of old time*, Thou shalt not commit adultery:

The only New Testament papyrus covering one of the eight se-

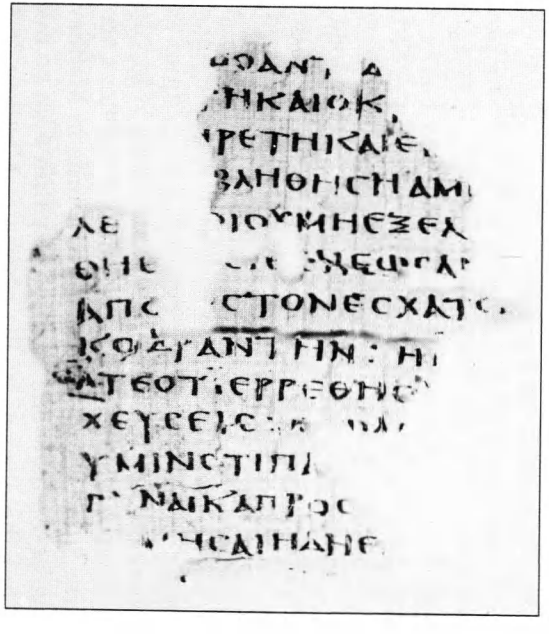
lected passages in the Sermon on the Mount is the very early papyrus 64, which is dated circa 200 C.E. (see Illustration 1). This papyrus, composed of fragments located at Oxford and Barcelona, contains verses for the 3rd, 5th, and 26th chapters of Matthew. The three Oxford fragments are numbered papyrus 64, while the two Barcelona fragments were given the number papyrus 67 (C. Roberts 1953, 233-37; Roca-Puig 1956). In 1962 Colin H. Roberts identified these separated fragments as part of the same papyrus (Roca-Puig 1962, 63-64; Elliott 1989, 21-22). This valuable papyrus takes one back in a single step 950 years earlier than Erasmus' oldest manuscripts and enables us to examine a passage from the Sermon on the Mount in a document copied only a little over one century after the autograph.

At Matthew 5:27 the words "you have heard that it was said, you shall not commit adultery" (NRSV), which are legible on one of the fragments of papyrus 64, confirm the shorter text of the fourth-century Codex Sinaiticus, the fourth-century Codex Vaticanus, the fifth-century Codex Bezae Cantabrigiensis, ten other uncials, family 1 and enough other minuscules to form a majority of the Greek manuscripts, the margin of the 1550 Textus Receptus, five Old Latin manuscripts, the fourth-century Sinaitic Syriac, the Peshitta, the Harclean Syriac asterisks (which indicate an awareness of the text without the addition), the Sahidic, the Bohairic, and Origen.

The addition *tois archaiois*, "to them of old time," which the KJV mistranslates as "by them of old time," is supported by five uncials, family 13 and a minority of the minuscules, the 1550 Textus Receptus, six Old Latin manuscripts, the Vulgate, the Curetonian Syriac, the basic text of the Harclean Syriac, the Palestinian Syriac lectionary, and Irenaeus.

Internal considerations also must be examined. There are several places in the Sermon on the Mount where there is a contrast between the mosaic law ("you have heard that it was said") and Jesus' own teachings ("but I say to you"). These contrasts occur at Matthew 5:21, 27, 33, 38, and 43. There is no reason why the phrase would be intentionally deleted from Matthew 5:27. The addition of *tois archaiois* is an assimilation to the same phrase occurring at Matthew 5:21 and possibly also at Matthew 5:33. One must be cautious about claiming which verse is the source of the added words in Matthew 5:27. Their presence at Matthew 5:21 is absolutely firm with no manuscripts omitting it, but the absence of the phrase at Matthew 5:33 in the fourth- or fifth-century Codex Bobiensis of the Old Latin, the fourth-century Sinaitic Syriac, and the second-century Irenaeus may indicate that originally this verse also lacked the phrase. If this is the case, then the words "to them of old time" were added first to v. 33 and later to v. 27. However, both external and internal considerations favor the original absence of this phrase at Matthew 5:27.

Illustration 1.
The Oldest Manuscript of the Sermon on the Mount
The Verso of Folium B of papyrus 64
(Matt. 5:25-28)



(transcription by Ramon Roca-Puig)

[παραδ]ω ο αντ[ι]δ[ικος]
[τω κρι]τη και ο κρ[ιτης]
[τω υπ]ηρετη και ει[ς φυ]
[λακην] βληθηση αμη[ν]
λε[γω σ]οι ου μη εξελ
θης [εκ]ειθεν εως αν
απο[δω]ς τον εσχατον
κοδραντην: ηκ[ου]
σατε οτι ερρεθη ου [μοι]
χευσεις: ε[γ]ω δε [λεγω]
υμιν οτι πα[ς ο βλεπων]
γυναικα προς [το επι]
[θυ]μησαι ηδη ε[μοιχευ]
[σεν] α[υτην ε]ν τ[η καρ]

Example 2

Matthew 5:30 (NRSV)	**Matthew 5:30 (KJV)**
And if your right hand causes you to sin, cut it off and throw it away; it is better for you to lose one of your members than for your whole body *to go into hell.*	And if thy right hand offend thee, cut it off, and cast it from thee: for it is profitable for thee that one of thy members should perish, and not that thy whole body should be cast into hell.

At Matthew 5:30 the reading *eis geennan apelthe*, "go into hell," is supported by the fourth-century Codex Sinaiticus, the fourth-century Codex Vaticanus, family 1, 22, 33, 157, the original hand of 660, 892, and the margin of the 1550 Textus Receptus. A sub-variant of this reading with a different order of words, *apelthe eis geennan*, is supported by the fifth-century Codex Bezae Cantabrigiensis, 372, 517, and 1675. Kurt Aland and Barbara Aland cite Codex Bezae as both having the reading "go into hell" near the end of Matthew 5:29 and omitting the whole of Matthew 5:30, but this is not an accurate representation of its text (Aland and Aland 1979, 11; cf. Scrivener 1864, 12). There is indeed a skipping of material in both the Greek and the Latin columns of Codex Bezae, but the omission is much more likely to have been due to homoeoteleuton from any of the nineteen consecutive words in v. 29 which are exactly duplicated in v. 30; that is, the omission (working equally well in the Greek or the Latin) could be from a point in v. 29 to the corresponding point in v. 30, rather than being an omission of all of v. 30. This would explain the reading "go into hell," which is not found in the original hand of any Greek manuscript for v. 29 but is found elsewhere in Greek at v. 30 and corresponds with the Latin order *eat in gehennam*. Most of the Old Latin, the Vulgate, the fourth-century Sinaitic Syriac, the fifth-century Curetonian Syriac, the Palestinian Syriac lectionary, the Bohairic, and the Middle Egyptian match the text with the variant order, but due to the looseness of word order in translation or the grammatical preference for the position of a prepositional phrase, these versions may just as likely be derived from a Greek text with the word order of Codex Sinaiticus and Codex Vaticanus.

The variant reading at Matthew 5:30 *blethe eis geennan*, "be cast into hell," is a scribal assimilation to the reading at the end of Matthew 5:29, which talks about the right eye causing a person to sin and ends with the statement that it would be better for a person to lose his eye than that his entire body "should be cast into hell." It is supported by sixteen uncials, family 13 and the majority of minuscules, the 1550 Textus Receptus, four Old Latin manuscripts, one manuscript of the Vulgate, the Peshitta, the Harclean Syriac, and the Sahidic. There are three sub-vari-

ants derived from this variant reading: "to be cast into hell," which is an assimilation to the infinitive at either Matthew 18:9 or Mark 9:47, is the reading of a thirteenth-century minuscule; "you shall be cast into hell" is the reading of the eighth-century Codex Regius; and "into hell be cast," which may be an assimilation to the wording of Luke 12:5, is the reading of a twelfth-century minuscule.

The textual interrelationships among the synoptic gospels (Mark, Matthew, and Luke) also help determine the original Matthean reading. One must also consider the problem of the production of the Sermon on the Mount by the author of Matthew and its relation to the Sermon on the Plain by Luke and scattered verses elsewhere in Luke and Mark. Scholars of the synoptic problem generally conclude that it is unlikely that the basic form of the Sermon on the Mount was ever delivered by the historical Jesus. While this is not the place to review the synoptic problem, one of the secure results of scholarly study is the priority of Mark over Matthew and Luke, to which almost no New Testament scholar would take exception (Tuckett 1983; Kee 1989; cf. Farmer 1976).

The Synoptic Interrelationship

Matthew 5:30, 29 (NRSV)	**Mark 9:42-43, 45, 47-48 (NRSV)**	**Matthew 18:6, 8-9 (NRSV)**
	If any of you put a stumbling block before one of these little ones who believe in me, it would be better for you if a great millstone were hung around your neck and you were thrown into the sea.	If any of you put a stumbling block before one of these little ones who believe in me it would be better for you if a great millstone were fastened around your neck and you were drowned in the depth of the sea.
And if your right hand causes you to sin, cut it off and throw it away; it is better for you to lose one of your members than for your whole body to go into hell.	And if your hand causes you to stumble, cut it off; it is better for you to enter life maimed than to have two hands and go to hell, to the unquenchable fire.	If your hand or your foot causes you to stumble, cut it off and throw it away; it is better for you to enter life maimed or lame than to have two hands or two feet and be thrown into the eternal fire.

	And if your foot causes you to stumble, cut it off; it is better for you to enter life lame than to have two feet and to be thrown into hell.	
If your right eye causes you to sin, tear it out and throw it away; it is better for you to lose one of your members than for your whole body to be thrown into hell.	And if your eye causes you to stumble, tear it out; it is better for you to enter the kingdom of God with one eye than to have two eyes and to be thrown into hell,	And if your eye causes you to stumble, tear it out and throw it away; it is better for you to enter life with one eye than to have two eyes and to be thrown into the hell of fire.
	where their worm never dies, and the fire is never quenched.	

The example above is an instance of a doublet in which the same Markan statement is used in two places by Matthew. Since the focus of attention is Matthew 5:30, the synoptic parallel at Luke 17:2 is not pertinent. The Markan pericope, or narrative section, concerning offenses (Mark 9:42-48, with vv. 44 and 46 being later additions to Mark derived from v. 48) is utilized by Matthew 18:6-9 (with the addition of a Matthean "woe" in v. 7), following the Markan order. Matthew here combines separate Markan statements about the hand and foot (Mark 9:43, 45) into a single statement (Matt. 18:8), but Matthew still retains the Markan order of hand, foot, and then eye. In the doublet of this material at Matthew 5:29-30 the statement of Mark 9:47 about the eye (with the addition of the Matthean adjective "right" to modify "eye") is brought ahead in order to immediately follow Jesus' teaching concerning the person who *looks* at a woman to lust after her. Then follows the statement from Mark 9:43 about the hand (again with the addition of the Matthean adjective "right"). Matthew omits reference to the foot (Mark 9:45), since it is unnecessary in this context. It is significant that the earliest text in the synoptic parallel of Mark 9:43 contains the infinitive *apelthein*, "to go away," which is the same verb as the *apelthe* found in the earliest Greek text of Matthew (Gundry 1982, 89).

Welch suggests that it is a "well-known point that many have ar-

gued that Matthew was changed to harmonize with Mark 9:42-48" (1985, 5). But New Testament scholars argue just the opposite—that the verb translated as "go into hell" in Matthew 5:30 follows the same verb in Mark 9:43, and then later it was changed in Matthew to conform to the verb "should be cast into hell" at the end of the previous verse, Matthew 5:29. Welch says that "the Markan text here is also a troubled text; the manuscripts have a wide variety of texts" (ibid.). However, it is hardly accurate to describe the verb "go into hell" (Mark 9:43) in this way, since only a few Western manuscripts changed the verb to "cast into hell."

Consequently, both internal considerations of what Matthew is most likely to have originally written and external attestation of manuscript witnesses support the reading "go into hell" at Matthew 5:30.

Examples 3 and 4 illustrate how a text in one gospel is influenced by a parallel text in another gospel. Such textual harmonization may be either conscious or unconscious, since the early scribes knew the gospel texts by heart, and it is easy to understand how memorized scriptures could affect the text being written by hand. This occurs most often within the synoptic gospels.

Example 3

Matthew 7:2 (NRSV)	**Matthew 7:2 (KJV)**
For with the judgment you make you will be judged, and the measure you give will be the measure you get.	For with what judgment ye judge, ye shall be judged: and with what measure ye mete, it shall be measured to you *again*.

At Matthew 7:2 the reading *metrethesetai,* "it will be measured," is supported by the fourth-century Codex Sinaiticus, the fourth-century Codex Vaticanus, thirteen other uncials, family 1 and a majority of minuscules, four Old Latin manuscripts, the original text of Jerome's Vulgate, the Curetonian Syriac, the Peshitta, the Harclean Syriac, the Sahidic, the Bohairic, Clement of Rome, and Origen. The first three editions of Erasmus had this reading, but in accordance with the Complutensian Polyglot, Erasmus changed the text in 1527 to the variant reading *antimetrethesetai,* "it will be measured ... in return," or as in the KJV, "it shall be measured ... again" (Erasmus 1516, 13; Ximénez 1514). Five uncials, family 13 and a minority of minuscules, the 1550 Textus Receptus, seven Old Latin manuscripts, most manuscripts of the Vulgate, the Palestinian Syriac lectionary, and Hippolytus of Rome support the variant reading. It will be noted that in the listing of witnesses reference is made to the Vulgate for both readings. The reason for this is that

Vulgate manuscripts show the same variation between the two readings as the Greek manuscripts. The true reading of Jerome's Vulgate is *metietur,* "it will be measured," which is found in early Vulgate manuscripts and modern printed editions (Wordsworth and White 1889; White 1911; Weber 1984). The majority of Vulgate manuscripts, the 1455 Gutenberg edition, and the 1592 Clementine edition have the variant form *remetietur* "it will be measured ... in return."

It is significant that the earlier synoptic parallel at Mark 4:24 reads "the measure you give will be the measure you get." The variant reading *antimetrethesetai,* "it will be measured ... in return," is also found at the parallel at Luke 6:38, which reads "for the measure you give will be the measure you get back" (NRSV). Since this Lucan text is very firm among the Greek witnesses to Luke 6:38 with only the original hand of the fourth-century Codex Vaticanus, the sixth-century Codex Guelferbytanus A, and a few minuscules harmonizing to *metrethesetai,* it seems more likely that scribes harmonized some Matthean texts to the Lucan form. In summary, the earliest and best manuscripts support the reading *metrethesetai.* The external and internal evidence is clear that the shorter reading at Matthew 7:2 is the more original.

Welch (1990, 155) asserts that the variant readings were not "significant enough" to be included in the Greek New Testament published by the United Bible Societies (Aland 1983), but they were not chosen for inclusion in the limited number of variants cited in that edition because there is little question about the correct text.

Example 4

Matthew 5:44 (NRSV)	**Matthew 5:44 (KJV)**
But I say to you: Love your enemies and pray for those who persecute you,	But I say unto you, Love your enemies, *bless them that curse you, do good to them that hate you,* and pray for them which *despitefully use you and* persecute you;

At Matthew 5:44 the shorter reading *agapate tous echthrous humon kai proseuchesthe huper ton diokonton humas,* "love your enemies and pray for those who persecute you," is supported by the fourth-century Codex Sinaiticus, the fourth-century Codex Vaticanus, family 1, 22, 660, 1449, 1582, the fourth- or fifth-century Codex Bobiensis of the Old Latin, the fourth-century Sinaitic Syriac, the fifth-century Curetonian Syriac, the Sahidic, part of the Bohairic, Irenaeus, Origen (two out of three of his citations), and Cyprian (see Illustration 2). This is a diversified array of important witnesses, with the earliest extant texts in the Greek, the

Latin, the Syriac, and the Coptic as well as the second-century Irenaeus providing strong support for the shorter form of Matthew 5:44.

Before listing the many textual variants among the manuscript witnesses of this passage, it is helpful to compare this earliest form of Matthew 5:44 with the synoptic parallel at Luke 6:27-28. The two Matthean clauses are numbered 1, 4a, and 4b, so that they can be compared and contrasted with the first and fourth Lucan clauses. The absence of any Matthean words to correspond with the second and third Lucan clauses does not imply a gap in Matthew.

The Synoptic Interrelationship

Matthew 5:44 (NRSV)	**Luke 6:27-28 (NRSV)**
1 Love your enemies	1 Love your enemies,
	2 do good to those who hate you,
	3 bless those who curse you,
4a and pray for those	4a pray for those
4b who persecute you,	4c who abuse you.

The Lucan form has a four-fold command composed of two synonymous parallelisms instead of the simpler, two-fold command in the earliest form of Matthew (Guelich 1982, 227-28). No witness of Luke 6:27-28 has the shorter form in Matthew 5:44. The four Lucan clauses are firm in the textual tradition.

The earliest form of Matthew 5:44 (order 1-4a-4b) and the witnesses which support it have already been cited. Later witnesses of Matthew 5:44 harmonize and/or conflate this Matthean text with words and/or clauses from the Lucan parallel (Tasker 1964, 411; Sanders 1969, 263). Theophilus and Origen (one out of three citations) have in the second Matthean clause a substitution from the fourth Lucan clause (order 1-4a-4c). Part of the Bohairic and Athenagoras add the third clause from Luke and leave the second Matthean clause untouched (order 1-3-4a-4b). Three minuscules, a lectionary, and Clement of Alexandria add the third Lucan clause and have a conflation between the fourth Lucan clause and the last half of the second Matthean clause (order 1-3-4a-4c-4b). This combination and order coincide with Tatian's Diatessaron, which at this point is not *per se* a quotation of Matthew 5:44, but is the result of his deliberate combination of this verse with parts of Luke 6:27-28, as cited by the fourth-century Syriac writer Aphraates. The American and British committees of the International Greek New Testament Project twice misrepresent the Diatessaric testimony of Aphraates at this point (American and British Committees 1984, 126-27; see Aphraates, Dem-

onstration 2.12, in *Patrologia Syriaca* 1 [1894]:73).

In a combination found only in the Latin tradition, four Old Latin manuscripts and the Vulgate add the second Lucan clause and have a reverse order of conflation consisting of the second Matthean clause and then the last half of the fourth Lucan clause (order 1-2-4a-4b-4c). Two manuscripts of the Old Latin also add the second Lucan clause but have a conflation between the fourth Lucan clause and the last half of the second Matthean clause (order 1-2-4a-4c-4b). The vast majority of manuscripts add the third and then the second Lucan clauses and have a conflation between the fourth Lucan clause and the last half of the second Matthean clause (order 1-3-2-4a-4c-4b). This order is supported by the fifth-century Codex Bezae Cantabrigiensis, the fifth-century Codex Freerianus, eleven later uncials of the eighth to tenth centuries, family 13 and the majority of minuscules, the 1550 Textus Receptus, four Old Latin manuscripts, the Peshitta, the Harclean Syriac, the Palestinian Syriac lectionary, but no patristic writer before the fourth century. Two minuscules and a lectionary follow the majority text in having both the third and second clauses but drop the last part of the fourth clause due to homoeoteleuton (order 1-3-2-4a-4c). One minuscule adds the second clause and has a substitution in the fourth clause; probably a better way to describe the text of this minuscule is that it follows the majority text but drops the third Lucan clause and also drops the last part of the fourth clause due to homoeoteleuton (order 1-2-4a-4c).

Welch argues that "the textual evidence is not as strong" in favor of the earliest text of Matthew 5:44 as it is in the other examples and gives as his first reason that "Bezae Cantabrigiensis (D) and many other early Greek texts have longer and different versions" of Matthew 5:44 (Welch 1990, 156). This misrepresents the age of the Greek witnesses, since the early manuscripts support the shorter reading of Matthew 5:44 and Codex Bezae Cantabrigiensis and Codex Freerianus, which date from the fifth century, with the rest of the uncials and minuscules being of the eighth century and later. In fairness to Welch, his earlier study does not use the inaccurate adjective "early," which only appears in his 1990 version (Welch 1985, 11-12). Also Welch does not appear to be aware that having "longer and different versions" is a sure indication that the original text has been modified (Metzger 1971, 14; Aland and Aland 1989, 301). The many variant readings of Matthew 5:44 are not simply gratuitous additions but scribal efforts to harmonize the text by using known or remembered wording from Luke (Beare 1981, 160).

The other argument Welch uses is that Codex Bezae Cantabrigiensis "agrees with the Sinaiticus and Vaticanus codices on most of these other points" but does not do so in Matthew 5:44 (Welch 1990, 156). However, one does not have a weaker case because Codex Bezae does

Illustration 2.

Earliest Form of Matthew 5:44

1 Love your enemies,

4a and pray for those
4b who persecute you.

Parallel at Luke 6:27-28

1 Love your enemies,
2 do good to those who hate you,
3 bless those who curse you,
4a pray for those
4c who despitefully use you.

Text	1 4a4b	1 4a4c	1 3 4a4b	1 3 4a4c4b	1 2 4a4b4c	1 2 4a4c4b	1 3 4a4c4b	1 3 2 4a4c	1 2 2 4a4c	1 2 3 4a4c
Witnesses	ℵ B f^1 22 660 1449 1582 it^k sy^s sy^c sa bo^{pt} Irenaeus Origen $^{2:3}$ Cyprian	Theophilus Origen $^{1:3}$	bo^{pt} Atheangoras	Tatian Clement of Alexandria	it^{aur} it it^{ff^1} it^{g^1} it^1 Vg 243 482 1071 ℓ^{871}	it^a it^b 1242*	D,E,K, L,M,S, U,W,Δ Θ, Π, Σ, Ω, F^{13} & most minuscules TR it^c it^d it^f it^h sy^p sy^h sy^{pal}	 1216 1241 ℓ^{185}	 1230	no witnesses

not join with the earliest witnesses. Metzger observes concerning Codex Bezae that "no known manuscript has so many and such remarkable variation from what is usually taken to be the normal New Testament text" (Metzger 1968, 50), and one of the most distinctive characteristics of Codex Bezae is a high degree of harmonization within the texts of the synoptic gospels (Vogels 1910). Since the point at issue in Matthew 5:44 is synoptic harmonization, one would expect Codex Bezae to have the harmonized reading based on the Lucan parallel. The Alands point out that when Codex Bezae "supports the early tradition the manuscript has a genuine significance, but it ... should be examined most carefully when it opposes the early tradition" (Aland and Aland 1989, 110).

In summary, the manuscript sources exhibit an array of textual variation at Matthew 5:44. However, the fact that not a single manuscript of Matthew has the text in the exact order of Luke (1-2-3-4) indicates that the earliest text of Matthew with the two-fold statement was not simply expanded in one operation. The evidence indicates that a series of partial scribal harmonizations occurred in which several textual forms arose. Both external manuscript evidence and internal considerations support the earliest text at Matthew 5:44.

Examples 5-8 show how texts have been added to and amplified over time.

Examples 5-7

Matthew 6:4, 6, 18 (NRSV)	**Matthew 6:4, 6, 18 (KJV)**
so that your alms may be done in secret; and your Father who sees in secret will reward you.	That thine alms may be in secret: and thy Father, which seeth in secret, himself shall reward thee *openly*.
But whenever you pray, go into your room and shut the door and pray to your Father who is in secret; and your Father who sees in secret will reward you.	But thou, when thou prayest, enter into thy closet, and when thou hast shut thy door, pray to thy Father which is in secret; and thy Father, which seeth in secret, shall reward thee *openly*.
so that your fasting may be seen not by others but by your Father who is in secret; and your Father who sees in secret will reward you.	That thou appear not unto men to fast, but unto thy Father which is in secret: and thy Father, which seeth in secret, shall reward thee *openly*.

These three textual readings are related, but the particular manu-

script support for each varies. This presents the additional problem of deciding the possible influence of one variant on another. At Matthew 6:4, 6 the shorter reading "your Father ... will reward you" is strongly supported by the fourth-century Codex Sinaiticus, the fourth-century Codex Vaticanus, the fifth-century Codex Bezae Cantabrigiensis, the sixth-century Codex Dublinensis, family 1, family 13 (at v. 4), 22, 33 (at v. 4), 544, 660, 1582 (at v. 4), six Old Latin manuscripts, the Vulgate, the fourth-century Sinaitic Syriac (at v. 6), the fifth-century Curetonian Syriac, one manuscript of the Palestinian Syriac lectionary (at v. 6), the Sahidic, the Bohairic, the Fayyumic, Origen, and Cyprian (at v. 4). At the end of vv. 4 and 6 the interpretive addition *en to phanero*, "in the open," or as in the KJV "openly" is supported by fifteen uncials, family 13 (at v. 6) and the majority of minuscules, the 1550 Textus Receptus, eight Old Latin manuscripts, the fourth-century Sinaitic Syriac (at v. 4), the Peshitta, the Harclean Syriac, the Palestinian Syriac lectionary, but no patristic writer before the fourth century.

At Matthew 6:18 the shorter reading "your Father ... will reward you" is supported by the fourth-century Codex Sinaiticus, the fourth-century Codex Vaticanus, the fifth-century Codex Bezae Cantabrigiensis, fifteen other uncials, minuscule 1, family 13 and a majority of minuscules, the margin of the 1550 Textus Receptus, five Old Latin manuscripts, the Vulgate, the fifth-century Curetonian Syriac, the Peshitta, the Harclean Syriac, manuscripts of the Palestinian Syriac lectionary, the Sahidic, the Bohairic, and Theophilus. The presence of *en to phanero*, "in the open," at the end of v. 18 is supported by only three uncials, a minority of minuscules, the 1550 Textus Receptus, six Old Latin manuscripts, and one manuscript of the Palestinian Syriac lectionary. Since the earliest Greek witness to support this addition dates from the eighth century, its presence in the verse should be attributed to assimilation to either v. 4 or v. 6, where the phrase was added to the text much earlier. It would be difficult to demonstrate whether v. 4 or v. 6 was the first to have the added phrase, since whichever one was first the phrase was soon added to the other.

With respect to internal considerations, there is no plausible reason for *en to phanero*, "in the open," to have been accidentally omitted or intentionally deleted. It is possible that it was originally a marginal note which in later manuscript copies intruded into the text. On the other hand, a copyist could have added the phrase either to support the religious conviction that the blessings for the righteous should be visible to the public or to provide an antithetical parallelism to the Father seeing what is done in secret (Metzger 1968, 198). It would be comparatively easy for a scribe to insert the phrase "to make a more complete contrast with the word 'secretly' in the preceding clause" (Greenlee 1985, 83).

Example 8

Matthew 6:13 (NRSV)	**Matthew 6:13 (KJV)**
And do not bring us to the time of trial, but rescue us from the evil one.	And lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from evil: *for thine is the kingdom, and the power, and the glory, for ever. Amen.*

The absence of any doxology at Matthew 6:13 is supported by the fourth-century Codex Sinaiticus, the fourth-century Codex Vaticanus, the fifth-century Codex Bezae Cantabrigiensis, the sixth-century Codex Dublinensis, the fifth- or sixth-century 0170, family 1, 130, 372, 1582, lectionary 547, seven Old Latin manuscripts, the original text of Jerome's Vulgate, the Syriac Acts of Thomas, part of the Bohairic, the Middle Egyptian, Tertullian, Origen, and Cyprian (see Illustration 3). The citation of the Vulgate is problematic due to variation among manuscripts and printed editions, but that the true reading of Jerome's Vulgate lacks the added *amen* at the end of the Lord's Prayer is supported by early Vulgate manuscripts and modern printed editions (Wordsworth and White 1889; White 1911; Weber 1984). The Sinaitic Syriac is not extant for Matthew 6:13, but F. Crawford Burkitt argues that the Syriac Acts of Thomas quotes the Lord's Prayer in the Old Syriac version without any doxology (Burkitt 1904, 2:104-106; cf. Wright 1871, 1:313; 2:279; cf. Klijn 1962, 144, 293). Though it has been contested, Andrew Bandstra gives reasons why Tertullian's *De Oratione* should be confidently cited for the absence of the doxology in Matthew (Bandstra 1982, 90-91; cf. Van Bruggen 1982, 83).

This array of witnesses supporting no doxology at Matthew 6:13 produces a strong combination, since it includes representatives of the Proto-Alexandrian, the Later Alexandrian, the so-called Pre-Caesarean, the Western, the Eastern, and the early patristic commentaries on the Lord's Prayer. Also the important ninth- or tenth-century minuscule 1424 and other scholia manuscripts have the following note to Matthew 6:13: "The [words] 'for thine is the kingdom' up to the 'amen' do not lie in some manuscripts." Many minuscules indicate uncertainty about the right of the doxology to stand at the end of the Lord's Prayer by transcribing it in red letters. The evidence is strong and broadly based that the doxology was not originally part of the text of Matthew (Filson 1960, 97; Bruce 1983, 81; Hendrickx 1984, 124). Even the conservative John F. MacArthur admits that the doxology was not in the original text (MacArthur 1985, 397).

Examination of the manuscript evidence shows a development of doxological forms. While the oldest and best manuscripts lack a doxology, those older manuscripts with a doxology have a great "breadth

of variation" (Luz 1990, 385). This diversity of the readings in this added material is "an irrefutable argument for its secondary character" (Aland and Aland 1989, 301). The smallest addition to the end of the Matthean Lord's Prayer is a simple *amen*, "amen," found in the fifteenth-century minuscule 17, the margin of the 1550 Textus Receptus, and late Vulgate manuscripts (and consequently in the Complutensian Polyglot and the Clementine edition of the Vulgate). That the Lord's Prayer was easily susceptible to various later embellishments is shown by the fact that a fourth-century potsherd measuring 6.5 centimeters by 9 centimeters discovered at Megara in Greece is inscribed with the Lord's Prayer without a doxology and followed by a final acclamation (using the *crux monogrammatica)* "O Lord Christ" (Knopf 1900, 315; von Dobschütz 1914, 294). A sixth-century amulet found in 1899 at Heracleopolis Magna recites the prayer with a short doxology: "For thine is the glory for ever." Due to the fragmentary state of the papyrus, this reading requires some conjectural emendation, but based on the amount of space available per line, it is a short form of the doxology different from other extant forms (Milligan 1912, 134). The fourth- or fifth-century Codex Bobiensis of the Old Latin has the shortest doxology in a New Testament manuscript: *quoniam est tibi uirtus in saecula saeculorum,* "For thine is the power for ever and ever." The Didache (an eleventh-century manuscript which may go back to the text of the early second century) reads "for thine is the power and glory for ever," and precisely the same two-member doxology without an *amen* is found in another prayer in this church manual (Didache 8:2; 10:5). Four times the simple formula "to thee be the glory for ever" occurs in the Didache at the end of prayers (9:2, 3; 10:2, 4). Once in the Didache an expanded doxology with a variant order "for thine is the glory and the power through Jesus Christ for ever" is found (9:4). However, the Didache never confirms the traditional doxology. The form in the Didache is supported with the addition of an "amen" by the Sahidic and the Fayyumic. This similarity with the Coptic versions and the likelihood that the Didache originated in Egypt has suggested to some that the doxology found in the Didache may have been redacted (sometime after the second century and before the eleventh century) from the Sahidic and Fayyumic versions (Bandstra 1981, 23). The Curetonian Syriac text reads "for thine is the kingdom and the glory for ever and ever. Amen."

The familiar triple strophic doxology is found in the vast majority of manuscripts: *hoti sou estin he basileia kai he dunamis kai he doxa eis tous aionas amen* "For thine is the kingdom, and the power, and the glory, for ever. Amen." This form is supported by sixteen uncials, family 13 and the majority of minuscules, the 1550 Textus Receptus, two Old Latin manuscripts, the Harclean Syriac, the Palestinian Syriac lectionary, part

Illustration 3.
The Textual Variants for the Doxology of Matthew 6:13

[No Doxology]	Amen	O Lord Christ	For thine is the glory for ever	For thine is the power for ever and ever	For thine is the power and the glory for ever	For thine is the power and the glory for ever amen	For thine is the kingdom and the glory for ever and ever amen	For thine is the kingdom and the power and the glory for ever amen	For thine is the kingdom and the power and the glory for ever	For thine is the kingdom and the power and the glory for ever and ever amen	For thine is the kingdom and the power and the glory of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit for ever amen	For thine is the kingdom of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit for ever amen
c\′, B, D, Z, 0170, f1, 130, 372, 1582, L547, seven OLMSS, Vg, Syriac Acts of Thomas, bo^{pt} mae Tertullian Origen Cyprian	17, TR^{mg}, late Vg MSS	potsherd	amulet	it^{k}	Didache	sa, mf	sy^{c}	E, G, K, L, M, S, U, V, W, Δ, Θ, Π, Σ, Φ, Ω, 0233, f^{13} & most manuscripts, TR, it^{f}, it^{q}, sy^{h}, sy^{pal}, bo^{pt}	118^{c}, it^{gl}, sy^{p}	2148, & other cursive MSS	157, 225, 418, Chrysotom	1253

of the Bohairic, but no patristic writer before the fourth century. The mere number of manuscripts supporting this variant reading is sometimes used as an argument in favor of the doxology, but manuscripts should be weighed not counted (Welch 1976, 17). Sidney B. Sperry and S. Brent Farley assume that the doxology is a part of the Lord's Prayer and give no indication of being aware of its absence in the earliest and best New Testament manuscripts and the editions of the Greek New Testament (Sperry 1947, 136; Farley 1988, 158). J. Reuben Clark, Jr., counselor in the First Presidency of the LDS church, referred in a Latter-day Saint general conference address to the Matthean doxology as "those great sanctifying words" which modern scholarship had eliminated from the text; Clark declared that those who followed the earlier texts and removed the doxology were somehow "tampering with the Lord's Prayer" (1954, 41; 1956, 353).

The doxology was not absolutely fixed, for the correction to one minuscule, Codex Sangermanensis of the Old Latin, and the Peshitta follow this traditional form but lack the "amen." A few minuscules expand "for ever" to "for ever and ever." Also the liturgy ascribed to Chrysostom, two twelfth-century minuscules, and a fifteenth-century minuscule expand the traditional doxology into a trinitarian formula by adding "of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit" after the words "and the glory." Due to homoeoteleuton this trinitarian formula is shortened in a fifteenth-century minuscule by the accidental omission of the words "and the power and the glory." The doxology is clearly a secondary addition in Matthew (Brown 1965, 253; Gerhardsson 1984, 218).

Joachim Jeremias indicates the prayer customs in first-century Judaism: "There were two ways of ending a prayer, a fixed conclusion and a conclusion formulated freely by the suppliant, called the *hatima* ('seal'). Originally the Lord's Prayer was a prayer with the 'seal', i.e., with a freely formulated conclusion" (Jeremias 1971, 203; cf. Jeremias 1967, 106). Quoting from Jeremias's 1963 study, Hugh Nibley makes several other assertions concerning the doxology and the Lord's Prayer: "The most significant example of this freedom of composition is certainly the Lord's Prayer. 'Originally,' wrote Jeremias, 'the doxology, For Thine is the kingdom, and the power, and the glory, for ever, was absent,' yet it is found in the oldest Church order, the "Teaching of the Twelve Apostles" [the Didache]. Has someone taken liberties with the sacred canon, then? No, 'the absence of the doxology from the original text, ...' Jeremias explains, 'does not mean that Jesus intended his prayer to be recited without a word of praise at the end. But in the very earliest times, the doxology had *no fixed form* and its precise wording was left to those who prayed.' Only 'later on ... it was felt necessary to establish the doxology in a fixed form,' which explains why the prayer has different

forms in Matthew 6:13 and Luke 11:4" (Nibley 1978, 51, emphasis in original).

Nibley here misrepresents the unique doxological form in the "Teaching of the Twelve Apostles" (Didache), by equating it with the later, traditional doxology. Though Jeremias's position is clear that the original text of Matthew 6:13 lacked the doxology, Jeremias asserts that early Christians recited the Lord's Prayer with spontaneous words of praise as the ending, and in the early period there were prevalent various doxological formulae which varied according to the person offering the prayer. Thus the evidence indicates that Nibley's rhetorical question about whether or not someone has taken "liberties with the sacred canon" of Matthew 6:13 should be answered with a firm "Yes." Nibley does not disclose to readers that the second ellipsis in his quotation from Jeremias eliminates a crucial clause that ties the establishment of a fixed form of the doxology to a later time "when the Lord's Prayer began to be used in the services of the Church as a common prayer" (Jeremias 1963, 10; cf. Jeremias 1967, 106-107). Nibley then asserts that the establishment of a fixed form for the doxology "explains why the prayer has different forms in Matthew 6:13 and Luke 11:4." However, it explains no such thing, for the evidence indicates that both gospels lacked the doxology in their earliest state and that in Matthew it was added in various forms.

Nibley denies that New Testament manuscripts show a growth of doxological forms and asserts that such a development of the doxology is clear "only if you arrange the manuscripts yourself to do that. That's what they [the scholars] do. You can't date them except by typology. Then you put their types exactly in the order you want to put them—then you get the clear development. That's the way it happens. ..." (Nibley 1990, 51). Paleographers and papyrologists would contest Nibley's position, since they are confident that manuscripts can be dated not by internal typology but by analysis of handwriting style to the century or adjacent centuries in which they were created. Welch says that the absence or presence of the doxology in Matthew 6:13 is "unsettled among biblical scholars," but actually there is a strong consensus against the Matthean doxology (Welch 1990, 157).

The doxology seems to have originated as the Lord's Prayer was adapted to early Christian liturgical use, perhaps under the influence of 1 Chronicles 29:11-13 and 2 Timothy 4:18 (Allen 1912, 60; Tasker 1964, 412). In known Eastern liturgies the congregation recites the Lord's Prayer with the priest giving the doxology, so it has been suggested that in the early Christian liturgies "the doxology was left for the leader to formulate" (Davies and Allison 1988, 615). Scribes, knowing that a doxology "was the customary way to end a prayer," would naturally add some form of it to their manuscripts (Albright and Mann 1971, 77). Since

Illustration 4.

μα σου ως εν ουρανώ και επί της γης. τον
άρτον ημών τον επιούσιον δος ημίν σήμε=
ρον. και άφες ημίν τα οφειλήματα ημών. ως
και ημείς αφίεμεν τοις οφειλέταις ημών. και
μη εισενέγκης ημάς εις πειρασμόν. αλλά ρύ
σαι ημάς από του πονηρού. αμήν. εάν γαρ
αφήτε τοις ανθρώποις τα παραπτώματα
αυτών, αφήσει και υμίν ο πατήρ υμών ο
ουράνιος. εάν δε μη αφήτε τοις ανθρώποις
τα παραπτώματα αυτων, ουδε ο πατήρ υ=
μών ο ουράνιος αφήσει τα παραπτώματα υ
μών. όταν δε νηστεύητε, μη γίνεσθε ώσπερ
οι υποκριται σκυθρωποί. αφανίζουσι γαρ
τα πρόσωπα αυτών, όπως φανώσι τοις αν
θρώποις νηστεύοντες. αμήν λέγω υμίν ότι
απέχουσι τον μισθόν αυτών. συ δε νηστεύ
ων, άλειψαι σον την κεφαλήν, και τον πρό=
σωπον σου νίψαι, όπως μη φανής τοις αν
θρώποις νηστεύων, αλλά τω πατρί σου τω
εν τω κρυπτώ. και ο πατήρ σου ο βλέπων
εν τω κρυπτώ, αποδώσει σοι. μη θησαυρί=
ζετε υμίν θησαυρούς επί της γης, όπου σης
και βρώσις αφανίζει, και όπου κλέπται δια=
ρύσσουσι και κλέπτουσι. θησαυρίζετε δε υ=
μίν θησαυρούς εν ουρανώ, όπου ούτε σης
ούτε βρώσις αφανίζει, και όπου κλέπται ου
διορύσσουσιν ουδέ κλέπτουσιν. όπου γαρ
εστίν ο θησαυρός υμών, εκεί έσται και η καρ
δια υμών. ο λύχνος του σώματός εστίν ο
οφθαλμός. εάν ουν ο οφθαλμός σου α=
πλούς ή, όλον το σώμα σου φωτεινόν έσ=
ται. εάν δε ο οφθαλμός σου πονηρός ή, ό=
λον το σώμα σου σκοτεινόν έσται. ει ουν το
φως το εν σοι σκότος εστί, το σκότος πό=
σον. ουδείς δύναται δυσί κυρίοις δουλεύ=
ειν. ή γαρ τον ένα μισήσει, και τον ετερον α=
γαπήσει, ή ενός αντέξεται και του ετέρου κα
ταφρονήσει. ου δύνασθε θεώ δουλεύειν και
μαμωνά. διά τούτο λέγω υμίν. μη μεριμ=
νάτε τη ψυχή υμών τι φάγητε και τι πίητε.
μηδέ τω σώματι υμών τι ενδύσησθε. ουχί
η ψυχή πλείον εστί της τροφής και το σώ=
μα του ενδύματος. εμβλέψατε εις τα πετει=
νά του ουρανού, ότι ου σπείρουσιν ουδέ
θερίζουσιν. ουδέ συνάγουσιν εις αποθήκας.
και ο πατήρ υμών ο ουράνιος τρέφει αυτά.
ουχ υμείς μάλλον διαφέρετε αυτών. τις δε
εξ υμών μεριμνών δύναται προσθείναι επί
την ηλικίαν αυτού πήχυν ένα. και περί ενδύ
ματος τι μεριμνάτε. καταμάθετε τα κρίνα
του αγρού πως αυξάνει. ου κοπιά ουδέ νή
θει. λέγω δε υμίν, ότι ουδέ ο σολομών εν
πάση τη δόξη αυτού περιεβάλετο ως εν του

† In exemplari
bꝰ græcor. post
hec verba actus
dicit vs. Sy li
bera nos a ma
lo: stati fedeat
οτι σου εστιν η βασι
λεια και η
δύναμις
και η δόξα
εις τους
αιωνας.
Iudeſt. Quoni
am tuus eſt re
gnū ⁊ potēta ⁊
gloria in ſecula.
Sed aduerten
dū q̄ in multis
græcor. poſtq̄s
dixe⁹ orat illa
verba oēs fere
c.ſ. Sy libera
nos a malo: ſa
cerdos rñdet:
ſta verba ſupra
ducta. ⁊ q̄ſi nul
lus eſſet regnus. ⁊c.
et dicunt græci
q̄d ſolus facer
dos pōt. ꝓnſi
are illa verba et
nō alius. ⁊ ſic ma
gis credibile vi
deſ q̄d iſta ver
ba non ſint de
integritate oīo
nis dñice. ſi q̄d
vnio aliquor
ſcr ꝓcꝛ fuerint
hec ſcripta nō vi
dētes q̄d publi
ce recitarēt i mif
ſa crediderunt
eſſe de textu. et
ſi verba dñica
ſtoꝛm⁹ ſi ſint cō
mētaria ſuper
Matthei ho
mi. ⁊c. expōat
iſta verba tāq̄m ſi
eſſēt de textu
verſimile⁹ eſt
ſtimul ſi ſanc
tozuꝫ⁹ ecclia
ita ſ. ſtho paſſi
ſimile cōtrapu
ct q̄ null⁹ latī
nozꝝ ⁊t ex ānch
ſimus interpret
bſtitue tractato
rib⁹ legal⁹ ⁊ bi
bl⁹ aliquā ſe
eſſe mēnoncy.

tas ſua ſicut in celo et in terra. oooo
panē nr̄m ſuperſubſtāntialē da nobis ho=
die. Et dimitte nobis debita nra: ſicut
⁊ nos dimittimꝰ debitoꝛibꝰ noſtris. Et
ne nos inducas in tēptationē. Sed li=
bera nos a malo. Amen. Si enim oo
dimiſeritis hominibus peccata oooo oo
eorum: dimittet et vobis pater veſter
celeſtis delicta veſtra. Si aūt nō dimi=
nec pater veſter oo ſeritis hominibus:
dimittet vobis peccata veſtra. oooooo
Cum autē ieiunatis: nolite fieri ſicut
hypocrite triſtes. Exterminant enim oo
facies ſuas: vt appareant hominibus
ieiunantes. Amen dico vobis quia oo
receperunt mercedē ſuā. Tu aūt cū ieiu=
nas: unge caput tuum et faciem oooo oo
niam laua: ne videaris hominibus oo
ieiunans ſed patri tuo qui eſt ooooooo
in abſcōſo: et pater tuus qui videt oo
in abſcōſo reddet tibi. Nolite theſau=
rizare vobis theſauros ſi terra vbi erugo
⁊ tinea demolitur: et vbi fures effodi=
unt et furantur. Theſaurizate aūt vobis
theſauros in celo vbi nec erugo oooo
nec tinea demolitur: ⁊ vbi fures non
effodiunt nec furantur. Vbi enim oo
eſt theſaurus tuus: ibi eſt et cor oooo
tuum. Lucerna corporis tui eſt oooo
oculus tuus. Si igitur oculus tuus fue=
rit ſimplex: totū corpus tuū lucidū erit.
Si aūt oculus tuus nequā fuerit totū
corpus tuū tenebroſum erit. Si ergo
lumē qđ in te ē tenebre ſint: ipe tenebre qnte
Nēo pt duob⁹ dñis ſeruire. oooo ſerit.
Aut ei vnū odio hēbit ⁊ alterꝫ diliget:
aūt vni ſuſtinebit ⁊ alterum cōtemnet.
Non poteſtis deo ſeruire ⁊ oooooo oo
mamone. Ideo dico vobis: ne ſolliciti
ſitis anie veſtre quid manducetis: ooo
neq̄ corpori veſtro quid induamꝫ. Nōne
anima plus eſt q̄ eſca et corpus plusq̄
veſtimento: Reſpicite volatilia ooo oo
celi que non ſerunt neq̄ oooooooo oo
metunt: neq̄ congregant in horrea: oo
et pr veſter celeſtis paſcit illa. oo aūt
Nōne vos magis pluri eſtis illis: Quis
veſtrū cogitans pōt adijcere ad oooo
ſtaturā ſuā cubitū vnū: Et d veſtimēt
quid ſolliciti eſtis. Conſiderate lilia oo
agri quō creſcūt. non laborāt neq̄ nēt.
Dico aūt vobis qm nec ſalomon in
oi gla ſua cooꝛt ⁊ ſicut vnū ex illis.

Matt. 11.b.

Luce. 11.c.
Mar. 10.c.

Luce. 11.c.

Luce. 16.c.

Luce. 12.c.

D

Luce. 12.d.

The 1514 Complutensian Polyglot of Matthew 6:10-29
(Courtesy the Bodleian Library, Oxford, England)

Illustration 5.

ἐν τῷ κρυπτῷ, καὶ ὁ πατήρ σου ὁ βλέπων ἐν
μγ τῷ κρυπτῷ, ἀποδώσει σοι ἐν τῷ φανερῷ.* προ
ε σευχόμενοι δὲ, μὴ βαττολογήσητε, ὥσπερ οἱ ἐθνι
κοί. δοκοῦσι γὰρ, ὅτι ἐν τῇ πολυλογίᾳ αὐτῶν εἰσ
ακουσθήσονται. μὴ οὖν ὁμοιωθῆτε αὐτοῖς, οἶδεν
γὰρ ὁ πατὴρ ὑμῶν, ὧν χρείαν ἔχετε, πρὸ τοῦ ὑ
μᾶς αἰτῆσαι αὐτὸν. οὕτως οὖν προσεύχεσθε
ὑμεῖς. πάτερ ἡμῶν ὁ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς, ἁγιασθή
τω τὸ ὄνομά σου. ἐλθέτω ἡ βασιλεία σου, γε
νηθήτω τὸ θέλημά σου, ὡς ἐν οὐρανῷ, καὶ ἐπὶ τ
γῆς. τὸν ἄρτον ἡμῶν τὸν ἐπιούσιον, δὸς ἡμῖν
σήμερον. καὶ ἄφες ἡμῖν τὰ ὀφειλήματα ἡμῶν,
ὡς καὶ ἡμεῖς ἀφίεμεν τοῖς ὀφειλέταις ἡμῶν.
καὶ μὴ εἰσενέγκῃς ἡμᾶς εἰς πειρασμόν, ἀλλὰ
ῥῦσαι ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ τοῦ πονηροῦ. ὅτι σοῦ ἐστὶν ἡ βα
σιλεία καὶ ἡ δύναμις, καὶ ἡ δόξα, εἰς τοὺς αἰῶ
μα νας ἀμήν.* ἐὰν δὲ ἀφῆτε τοῖς ἀνθρώποις τὰ
μδ παραπτώματα αὐτῶν, ἀφήσει καὶ ὑμῖν ὁ πα
ς τὴρ ὑμῶν ὁ οὐράνιος. ἐὰν δὲ μὴ ἀφῆτε τοῖς ἀν
θρώποις τὰ παραπτώματα αὐτῶν, οὐδὲ ὁ πα
τὴρ ὑμῶν ἀφήσει τὰ παραπτώματα ὑμῶν.* ὅτ
με ἂν δὲ νηστεύητε, μὴ γίνεσθε ὥσπερ οἱ ὑποκριται
ι σκυθρωποί. ἀφανίζουσι γὰρ τὰ πρόσωπα αὐ
τῶν, ὅπως φανῶσι τοῖς ἀνθρώποις νηστεύον
τες. ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν, ὅτι ἀπέχουσι τὸν
μισθὸν αὐτῶν. σὺ δὲ νηστεύων ἄλειψαί σου
τὴν κεφαλὴν, καὶ τὸ πρόσωπόν σου νίψαι,
ὅπως μὴ φανῇς τοῖς ἀνθρώποις νηστεύων, ἀλ
λὰ τῷ πατρί σου, τῷ ἐν τῷ κρυπτῷ, καὶ ὁ
πατήρ σου ὁ βλέπων ἐν τῷ κρυπτῷ, ἀπο
μς δώσει σοι ἐν τῷ φανερῷ.* μὴ θησαυρίζετε ὑ
ε μῖν θησαυροὺς ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, ὅπου σὴς καὶ βρῶ
σις ἀφανίζει, καὶ ὅπου κλέπται διορύσσουσι,
καὶ κλέπτουσιν. θησαυρίζετε δὲ ὑμῖν θη
σαυροὺς ἐν οὐρανῷ, ὅπου, οὔτε σὴς, οὔτε βρῶ
σις ἀφανίζει, καὶ ὅπου κλέπται οὐ διορύσσου
σιν, οὐδὲ κλέπτουσιν. ὅπου γάρ ἐστιν ὁ θησαυ
ρὸς ὑμῶν, ἐκεῖ ἔσται καὶ ἡ καρδία ὑμῶν.
μζ * ὁ λύχνος τοῦ σώματός ἐστιν ὁ ὀφθαλμός.
ε ἐὰν οὖν ὁ ὀφθαλμός σου ἁπλοῦς ᾖ, ὅλον τὸ
σῶμά σου φωτεινὸν ἔσται. ἐὰν δὲ ὁ ὀφθαλμός
σου πονηρὸς

in occulto, & pater tuus qui uidet in occulto, perfoluet tibi in propatulo. Verum orantes, ne ſitis multiloqui, ſicut ethnici. Putant enim fore, ut ob multiloquium ſuum exaudiantur. Ne igitur efficiamini ſimiles iſtorum. Nouit enim pater ueſter quibus rebus opus ſit uobis, priuſquam petatis ab illo. Ad hunc ergo modum orate uos, Pater noſter, qui es in cœlis, ſanctificetur nomen tuum. Veniat regnum tuum, fiat uoluntas tua, quemadmodum in cœlo, ſic etiam in terra. Panem noſtrũ quotidianum da nobis hodie, & remitto nobis debita noſtra, ſicut & nos remittimus debitoribus noſtris. Et ne inducas nos in tentationem. Sed libera nos à malo. quia tuum eſt regnum, & potentia & gloria, in ſæcula ſæculorum. Amen. Proinde, ſi remiſeritis hominibus errata ſua, remittet & uobis pater ueſter cœleſtis. Quod ſi non remiſeritis hominibus errata ſua, nec pater remittet errata ueſtra. Porrò cum ieiunaueritis, ne ſitis ueluti hypocritæ tetrici. Obſcurant enim facies ſuas, quo perſpicuum ſit hominibus ipſos ieiunare. Amen dico uobis, habent mercedem ſuam. Tu uero cum ieiunas, unge caput tuum, & faciem tuam laua, ne conſpicuum ſit hominibus te ieiunare, ſed patri tuo, qui eſt in occulto, & pater tuus qui uidet in abdito, reddet tibi in propatulo. Ne reponatis uobis theſauros in terra, ubi erugo & tinea corrumpit, & ubi fures perfodiunt ac furantur. Sed recondite uobis theſauros in cœlo, ubi neq; erugo, neq; tinea corrũpit, & ubi fures non perfodiũt, neq; furantur. Nam ubi fuerit theſaurus ueſter, illic erit & cor ueſtrum. Lucerna corporis eſt oculus. Si igitur oculus tuus ſimplex fuerit, totum corpus tuum lucidũ erit. Quod ſi oculus tuus malus

Erasmus's 1519 ed. of *Novum Testamentum*
Matt. 6:13b at lines 15-17 in Greek and lines 17-18 in Latin

the Lord's Prayer ends with a plea for deliverance from evil or the evil one, the doxology may have been added for rhetorical as well as liturgical reasons (Vaught 1986, 133). On the other hand, it is unlikely that a copyist would have intentionally omitted the doxology (Newman and Stine 1988, 178).

To understand the growth of the doxology at Matthew 6:13 one must understand how the text of the Lord's Prayer developed in the respective gospels of Matthew and Luke. There are several significant differences between the Matthean and Lucan versions of the Lord's Prayer. The earliest form of Luke 11:2-4, which is supported by the third-century papyrus 75, is compared to the Lord's Prayer as found in KJV Matthew 6:9-13.

The Synoptic Interrelationship

Luke 11:2-4 (NRSV)	**Matthew 6:9-13 (KJV)**
Father,	*Our* Father *which art in heaven,*
hallowed be your name.	Hallowed be thy name.
Your kingdom come.	Thy kingdom come.
	Thy will be done in earth, as it is in heaven.
Give us *each* day	Give us *this* day
our daily bread.	our daily bread.
And forgive us *our sins,*	And forgive us *our debts,*
for we ourselves forgive *everyone indebted to us.*	as we forgive *our debtors.*
And do not bring us to the time of trial.	*And lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from evil: for thine is the kingdom, and the power, and the glory, for ever. Amen.*

Notice that Luke has only "Father" instead of the Matthean "our Father which art in heaven," which has been described as "a very considerable modification" of the Aramaic *abba,* "father" (Perrin 1976, 41). Also Luke lacks "thy will be done in earth, as it is in heaven"; has the present imperative verb form "give [and keep giving]" instead of the Matthean aorist imperative, implying a single act of giving; has "each day" instead of "this day"; has "our sins" instead of "our debts"; has "everyone indebted to us" instead of "our debtors"; lacks the Matthean antithesis "but deliver us from evil" after "do not bring us to the time of trial"; and lastly and most importantly, Luke lacks any doxology. It is certainly significant that at the points where Luke lacks Matthean material, the form

in Luke is completely contained in the longer form of Matthew (Strecker 1988, 107). This leads to the conclusion that Matthew's text is an early expansion of the shorter form found in Luke, for "in the early period, before wordings were fixed, liturgical texts were elaborated, expanded, and enriched." Further confirmation of Matthew's expanding the original form is the fact that the instances of expansion are "found toward the end of a section of the prayer—the first at the end of the address, the second at the end of the 'thou-petitions', the third at the end of the 'We-petitions'" (Jeremias 1967, 90). These are typical of liturgical expansions. However, the variations in the textual tradition of the Matthean and Lucan forms of the Lord's Prayer make it difficult to be certain of the original words spoken by Jesus (Betz 1985, 66).

Faced with early Greek, Latin, Syriac, Coptic, and patristic texts without a doxology and later manuscripts with various kinds of doxologies, Welch argues that the doxology was originally present in Matthew 6:13 but that the early Greek manuscripts "may have been changed to conform with" Lucan manuscripts (Welch 1990, 158). But there is no manuscript of Matthew which ever omits words in order to agree with the Lucan parallel. Welch's theoretical possibility is totally without foundation. The process is clearly in the direction of fuller, more complete doxological forms.

Various manuscripts of Luke have been assimilated to the fuller, more familiar form found in Matthew (Metzger 1968, 197). This process of harmonization is so thorough that at each and every point—except one—where the earliest Greek text of Luke 11:2-4 differs from the Textus Receptus of Matthew 6:9-13, there are at least some manuscripts of Luke which have been harmonized to the more familiar Matthean form (Kenyon 1975, 210). That single exception is the Matthean doxology, for the most exhaustive Greek New Testament critical apparatus ever published does not show any Greek manuscript, ancient version, or patristic writer which has assimilated Luke 11:4 to the doxology of Matthew 6:13 (American and British Committees 1984, 1:245; Greenlee 1985, 86). This is compelling evidence that in the early Christian period, when such harmonizations between the synoptic gospels were made, the doxology of Matthew 6:13 had not yet been added to texts of Matthew. The doxology was added to New Testament manuscripts at a later period, and the reason it was not added to Luke but was added to Matthew is "because being the fuller it [Matthew] was preferred for liturgical purposes" (McNeile 1915, 82).

It is instructive to see how narrowly the doxology of Matthew 6:13 entered into the Textus Receptus. To do this properly one must go back earlier than the first published text to the first Greek New Testament prepared for publication—the Complutensian Polyglot (Ximénez 1514; see Illustration 4). In this earliest printed text the doxology was not in-

cluded and Demetrius Ducas's marginal note explains that the doxology crept into Greek manuscripts by way of the Greek mass where only the priest uttered it (Bentley 1980, 148; 1983, 96).

Independent of the Complutensian Polyglot, Erasmus also concluded that the doxology was a late addition to the text. However, Erasmus prints it in his text because it occurred in minuscule 2, which was the printer's manuscript for the 1516 edition. In his extensive *Annotationes* appended to the 1516 edition Erasmus argues against the authenticity of the doxology, pointing out that it is absent in the Vulgate and was added to the Lord's Prayer for the same reason that the phrase *gloria patri* was added at the end of various Psalms (Erasmus 1516, 11, 250; cf. Erasmus 1986, 35-36). It is ironic that although Erasmus had minuscule 1 at hand, he did not study this valuable manuscript more carefully, for there is probably not a single minuscule with a better text of the gospels than minuscule 1. Erasmus considered it to be a beautiful and elegant manuscript but not an accurate text (Rummel 1986, 36-37). It lacks the doxology and would have provided the needed Greek confirmation for his own conclusion about the secondary nature of the doxology at Matthew 6:13. The modern scholastic practice would place a secondary text in a footnote. In his 1519 and succeeding editions Erasmus hit on the novel idea of using smaller type in his Latin translation in the adjacent column in order to indicate that the doxology was not original (see Illustration 5). This distinction by Erasmus was lost as later editors just reprinted his Greek text without incorporating any difference in typeface. In this precarious way the doxology found its way into the Textus Receptus, and eventually into the KJV.

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CHAPTER 6

"In Plain Terms that We May Understand": Joseph Smith's Transformation of Hebrews in Alma 12-13

David P. Wright

The most notable literary products of Joseph Smith's relatively short life were his ancient scriptures: the Book of Mormon, his revision of the Bible (JSR; portions of which are in the Pearl of Great Price), and the Book of Abraham.[1] These were put forward as records of ancient peoples, restoring or revealing ideas, histories, covenants, and ordinances lost to humanity or "hidden up" to come forth in the last days. Mormon tradition at the beginning accepted these works as ancient, and today great reservation is shown in traditional circles to suggestions otherwise. Nevertheless, some studies in recent years have been making it clearer that these works are not ancient but recent compositions set pseudonymously or pseudepigraphically in the past.[2] In

1. One could include portions of the Doctrine and Covenants (D&C) which are portrayed as ancient (e.g., sec. 7).

2. See Ashment 1979; Hill 1989, 19-30; Hullinger 1992; Hutchinson 1985, 1987, 1988; Russell 1982, 1983; Smith 1981; Thomas 1983; Vogel 1986, 1988, 1990; and see the papers in this volume. Hugh Nibley, in a generation past, and more recently the associates of the Foundation for Ancient Research and Mormon Studies (FARMS) at Brigham Young University, plus some others, have argued in many articles and monographs for the antiquity of the Book of Mormon. This work has shown on occasion some striking coincidences between elements in the Book of Mormon and the ancient world and some notable matters of Book of Mormon style (on matters of style, see my review, Wright 1989, and especially p. 17 on methodological priorities in studying Book of Mormon style). But much of this work has been highly speculative and has been unable to deal satisfactorily with major textual, ideational, and cultural anachronisms that are found in the Book of Mormon. Anachronism, particularly of the textual sort (as discussed in this

my view these studies are on the right track, and in what follows I would like to add to the evidence for this view. Specifically I will show that Alma chapters 12-13, traditionally dated to about 82 B.C.E., depend in part on the New Testament epistle to the Hebrews, dated by critical scholars to the last third of the first century C.E. The dependence of Alma 12-13 on Hebrews thus constitutes an anachronism and indicates that the chapters are a composition of Joseph Smith.

But I have another purpose in this study which goes beyond this simple auctorial observation and which actually constitutes the major goal here. I am interested more generally in how Joseph Smith used Hebrews in his composition of Alma 12-13: What parts of that epistle did he pick up? How did he represent and transform these elements in the Book of Mormon chapters? What new ideas grew out of his use of the biblical text? What solutions did he give to difficulties that appear in the text of Hebrews? Answers to these questions will tell us something about Smith's view of the Old and New Testaments and about the development of religious ideas in his life and in early Mormonism. I make these observations my major goal, too, because going beyond observations about authorship to see the creativity in Smith's use of the biblical material and to observe how the Book of Mormon reflects his life will demonstrate to the religious community that it can learn from and appreciate its scriptural heritage despite conclusions about authorship (see the Afterword, which follows below). One of the points I hope will be borne out is that Smith is as interesting and religiously relevant when understood to be the author of the Book of Mormon as when he is considered the translator.

I assume Joseph Smith's authorship in this study in order to speak about how he has used and transformed the biblical text. At certain points in the discussion, however, I will break out of this mode to note pieces of evidence which demonstrate the dependence of Alma 12-13 on Hebrews. When I cite the Bible in English, I will generally use the King James Version (KJV), whose influence is manifested in the chapters of Alma and the Book of Mormon generally. Though modern scholarly translations are clearer, having the idiom of the KJV in mind will facilitate comparisons.[3] The Book of Mormon text I use is, despite its failings

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paper), is the main criterion in determining dates of texts.

3. In a few cases, when it is not crucial for comparative matters, I provide my own translation. An eclectic transliteration of Hebrew, Aramaic, Phoenician, and Akkadian is used in this study for technical reasons. The transliteration of consonants is: alef='; bet=b; gimel=g; dalet=d; he=h; waw=w; zayin=z het=H (also used for Akkadian -h-); tet=T; yod=y; kaf=k; lamed=l; mem=m; nun=n; samekh=s; ayin=^{c}; pe=p; tsadi=c; qof=q; resh=r; sin=S; shin=ç; taw=t. The length or brevity of vowels is not marked in these languages (nor in transliterated Greek).

and tentativeness, the FARMS critical text.[4] I use this because in most matters it gets us closer to what the original dictated text was like. It should be noted that there are no differences between this text, the Printer's Manuscript (*P*), the first edition (1830), and the current Latter-day Saint edition which affect the conclusions of this paper.

1. Melchizedek, From Mystery to Biography

One of the passages on which Alma 13 relies for its discussion of priesthood is Hebrews 7:1-4. These four verses supply basic information about the priestly personage Melchizedek, which is transformed into a new creation in Alma 13. There common-sense and theological difficulties are resolved, and a midrashic[5] biography of Melchizedek is developed.[6] I will first lay out the relevant material from Hebrews and then look at what the Book of Mormon does with it.

A major goal of the so-called epistle to the Hebrews is to show how Jesus functioned as a priestly figure, who brought expiation and salvation to believers. In making this argument the work refers several times to Psalm 110:4, "Thou art a priest forever after the order of Melchizedek," which it interprets messianically as a promise or declaration about Jesus.[7] Jesus has a priesthood like Melchizedek's. To explain what this priesthood entails, Hebrews paraphrases the story in Genesis 14:18-20 about Melchizedek's meeting Abraham after the patriarch returned from a battle in which he rescued his nephew Lot. These few verses along with the brief reference in Psalm 110 are the only places in the Hebrew Bible (or Old Testament) which mention Melchizedek, and the writer of Hebrews uses them to full advantage.

Hebrews summarizes the Genesis material, following it almost word for word after reiterating the passage from Psalm 110:4 (at the end of chapter 6). This summary reads: "For this Melchisedec, king of Salem, priest of the most high God, who met Abraham returning from the slaughter of the kings, and blessed him; to whom also Abraham gave a

4. See FARMS 1987. I have kept traditional spelling of names and conventional modern spelling of words. I have provided my own punctuation. I have also updated or smoothed out the punctuation of the KJV in places to make it more readable.

5. "Midrash" is a genre of interpretation found in Jewish tradition whereby a scriptural text is recast, interpreted, or elaborated on, thus providing an explanation of various elements in the scriptural text and filling out the logical gaps of that text. For a more technical definition, see Fitzmyer 1974a, 222; Vermes 1970; 1973, 1-10; Michel 1966, 256.

6. For traditions about Melchizedek in Early Jewish, Qumran, Rabbinic, Christian, and Gnostic literatures, see Kobelski 1981; Horton 1976; Delcor 1971; Michel 1967; 1966, 257-58; Attridge 1989, 192-95; Fitzmyer 1974b, 1974a; Héring 1970, 53-55; Welch 1990; and see the literature cited in these works.

7. For more on this psalm, see Section 3, below.

tenth part of all ..." (Heb. 7:1-2a). This paraphrase repeats all the main points of Genesis 14:18-20 and adds a bit of information from the context of these verses (see the Appendix for the texts listed side by side). The only point left unmentioned is Melchizedek's bringing forth bread and wine.[8] This is omitted as apparently unnecessary to Hebrews's context and argument.

After this reference to scripture, Hebrews elaborates and explains the relevance of the information in the Genesis passage. Though some of this elaboration may depend in some points on traditions about the biblical character Melchizedek available in the writer's first century environment,[9] the construction of the argument which follows seems to be the writer's own. Hebrews characteristically uses material from the Old Testament to formulate arguments addressing the concerns and questions of the writer's generation,[10] and its argument at 7:1-4 (and the following verses) exemplifies this tendency. The citation and argument are presented to answer questions which have arisen during the author's period about the nature and function of Jesus' death.

The first interpretive move of the writer is to give a simple linguistic interpretation of Melchizedek's name. The name is "first ... by interpretation King of righteousness" (Heb. 7: 2b). This derives from a possible meaning of the individual elements of the name Melchizedek: *malki*—meaning "king" and *cedeq* meaning "righteousness." The interpretation of the name is followed by an interpretation of the title "King of Salem": "and after that [secondly] also King of Salem, which is, King of peace" (v. 2c). This is an interpretation of the city name Salem, in Hebrew, *çalem*, which the author construes as similar in meaning to Hebrew *çalom*, "peace." King of Salem is King of Shalom.[11] These interpretations are not new with the author; they were

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8. The words of the blessing of Genesis 14:19b-20a are also left uncited, but the blessing is mentioned. The matter of the bread and wine could have been used by the author of Hebrews to good typological advantage with respect to the Eucharist (Attridge 1989, 188). Joseph Smith transforms this along this line in his revision of Genesis 14.

9. See n12 and n13 below. An excellent review and study of some of the influence on the writer of Hebrews is Hurst 1990.

10. The Old Testament is referred to explicitly, quoted, or paraphrased (i.e., introductions and context indicate a quotation or paraphrase) in the following verses: 1:5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10-12; 2:6-9, 12, 13; 3:7-11, 15; 4:3, 4, 7; 5:5, 6; 6:14; 7:1-2, 4, 17, 21; 8:5, 8-12; 9:20; 10:5-7, 8-9, 15-17, 30-31, 36-38; 12:5-6, 26; and 13:5 (for another listing of references, see Spicq 1952-53, 1:331-33). Besides these, many other allusions—citations of parts of phrases here and there and summaries of Old Testament stories—exist. Chapter 11 is a good example of this. Hughes 1979 discusses many of these examples but in an unsatisfactory way. See Hurst 1990, 61-63; Spicq 1952-53, 1:330-50.

11. The historical or original meaning of the name Melchizedek is not certain. The available evidence indicates that the -zedek (*cedeq*) portion of the name was probably a

standard first-century Jewish interpretations of the name and title of Melchizedek.[12]

After this the writer presents what seems to us an odd explanation about the genealogy of Melchizedek and also a conclusion about his character. Melchizedek being "without father, without mother, without descent, having neither beginning of days, nor end of life; but made like unto the Son of God, abideth a priest continually" (7:3). One reason for this description has to do with the lack of information dealing with Melchizedek in the Bible. As I have noted only two places in the Hebrew Bi-

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title or name of a deity, "Zedek." Hence the name could mean "My king is Zedek." See Kobelski 1981, 55-56; Delcor 1971, 115-18; Rosenberg 1965, 161-77; Fitzmyer 1974a, 229-31; R. Smith 1965, 146-48; Attridge and Oden 1981, 44-47 and 85n74; Astour 1966, 282-83; Cross 1973, 161, 209; Albright 1924-25, 63-64n172; Attridge 1989, 188-89; Horton 1976, 42-44; Spicq 1952-53, 2:182; Westermann 1985, 204; Buchanan 1972, 118-19; Héring 1970, 56; Welch 1990, 245. This explanation of the name is set within the critical perspective that ancient Israelite religion grew out of a Canaanite milieu—i.e., monotheism as we know it in the Bible was the result of a historical and ideational development over the history of preexilic Israel. On this see the recent book of Mark Smith (1990). It should be noted that although the interpretation of Melchizedek's name as theophoric is the most attractive historical interpretation, the name could be titular in nature, and early Jewish interpreters including the author of Hebrews could therefore have some justification in their explanations (see the next note for Philo and Josephus). A tenth-century-B.C.E. Phoenician inscription reads: "May the Heaven-Lord, the Byblos-Mistress, and assembly of the holy gods of Byblos prolong the days and years of Yehimilk over Byblos, because he is a righteous king (*mlk cdq*) and an upright king (*mlk yçr*) before the holy gods of Byblos" (Donner and Röllig 1971-76, text #4: 3-7, see 2:6-7; cf. the fifth-fourth-century-B.C.E. inscription #10:9 with just *mlk cdq*). But the roots *cdq* and *yçr* here, in Phoenician texts, remind one of the Phoenician characters Sydyk and Mishor (Attridge and Oden 1981, 44-45; Rosenberg 1965, 162-63) who perhaps reflect deities. Compare the divine pair *cdq mçr* at Ugarit (Astour 1966, 282-83). Cf. the personified and divinized pair Kittu (which approximates the notion of *cedeq*) and Misharu in Akkadian texts (Rosenberg 1965, 161-62; CAD M/2 118b). Thus somehow the Phoenician texts referred to here may echo divine names and not simply be royal epithets.

The meaning of "Salem" is less clear. It is not certain whether it is to be connected with the root *çlm* that signifies "well-being; wholeness" nor is it clear whether this is to be connected with Jerusalem. Psalms 76:3 (English v. 2) (contra Horton 1976, 50) and 110:4 indicate a connection of Salem with Jerusalem. Genesis 14, however, could refer to some other locale. See Gammie 1971; Hertzberg 1928; Cody 1969, 87-93; R. Smith 1965, 139-52; Rowley 1959; 1963, 17n4, 18n4; Fitzmyer 1974a, 231-33; Rosenberg 1965; Spicq 1952-53, 2:182-83; Skinner 1930, 267-68; Emerton 1971, 412-13; Albright 1924-25, 63-64.

12. Cf. Philo, *Legum Allegoria*, 3.79: "Melchizedek, too, has God made both king of peace (*basileus tes eirenes*), for that is the meaning of 'Salem,' ... he is entitled 'the righteous king (*basileus dikaios*).'" Josephus, *Antiquities*, 1.10.2 180: "Melchizedek: this name means 'righteous king' (*basileus dikaios*), and such was he by common consent, insomuch that for this reason he was moreover made priest of God"; *Jewish War*, 6.10.1 438: Melchizedek was "called in the native tongue 'Righteous King' (*basileus dikaios*); for such indeed he was." See the Targumic and Qumran evidence summarized by Kobelski 1981, 55, and its relevance to this interpretation. It should be noted that Philo's and Josephus' designation as *basileus dikaios* is slightly different from Hebrews's *basileus dikaiosynes*.

ble mention him: Psalm 110 and Genesis 14. The Genesis 14 passage presents Melchizedek as a full blown figure. But in contrast to many other notable figures in that book, his genealogical connections are not known. This silence about the family relations of a religiously significant personality in part led the writer of Hebrews—or the tradition upon which the writer depends[13]—to speculate that Melchizedek lacked ancestry and posterity and was therefore an immortal priest.[14]

The idea that Melchizedek was an eternal priest may also reflect ideas, some of them found in documents discovered at Qumran, that Melchizedek was a heavenly or angelic figure functioning in an eschatalogical, "last-days" context.[15] Another element in the formation of Hebrews's thought may be Psalm 110:4 itself, where the eternal priesthood of the Davidic priest is being read back onto Melchizedek. What is interesting about Hebrews is that even in view of the extravagance of the writer's claims about Melchizedek, he is very reserved when compared with other treatments of Melchizedek from approximately the same period.[16]

Presenting Melchizedek as an eternal priest provided the basis for arguing about the superiority of his priesthood over that of Aaronic priests and with this the superiority of Jesus' priesthood over the levitical order. The reader may follow this in Hebrews. All that needs to be noted here is the verse which opens this discussion, the last verse we are interested in here for our comparison with Alma 13. The writer addresses his readers: "Now consider how great this man was, unto whom even the patriarch Abraham gave the tenth of the spoils" (Heb. 7:4).

Joseph Smith used and reinterpreted these four verses from Hebrews 7 to develop new understandings about the figure Melchizedek.

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13. For a possible "hymnic" source behind Hebrews 7:3, see Attridge 1989, 189-90; Kobelski 1981, 120-22; Michel 1966, 256-63. Note Attridge's skepticism about this source.

14. Cf. Fitzmyer 1974a, 235-36; Attridge 1989, 189-90. On cautions about this notion that the idea arose out of the gaps of the Genesis 14 story, see Horton 1976, 152-60; Kobelski 1981, 115. Horton notes that a factor for this description of Melchizedek to be considered along with the silence of Genesis 14 is that this is the first place in the Pentateuch where a priest appears. It thus has special significance and receives special attention. For the linguistic and ideational background of the terms "without father" and "without mother," see Michel 1966, 261; Moffatt 1924, 93.

15. See particularly the Hebrew Melchizedek scroll from cave 11 (11QMelch). For the text and a discussion of this and related Qumran documents, see Kobelski 1981, and the literature there. Also see pages 115-29 there for possible influences on Hebrews 7. Cf. Fitzmyer 1974b, 267; Astour 1992, 685; Brooke 1992, 687-88. Hurst 1990, 54-60, 65-66, argues that 11QMelch cannot really be connected with Hebrews. For general eschatological influences generating the conception about Melchizedek as an eternal priest, see Michel 1966, 262-63.

16. On this observation, see Hurst 1990, 60.

The main passage in Alma 13 which reflects the Hebrews passage encompasses verses 17-19: "Now this Melchizedek was a king over the land of Salem, and his people had waxed strong in iniquity and abominations. Yea, they had all gone astray; they were full of all manner of wickedness. But Melchizedek having exercised mighty faith and received the office of the high priesthood according to the holy order of God, did preach repentance unto his people. And behold, they did repent. And Melchizedek did establish peace in the land in his days, therefore he was called the Prince of Peace,[17] for he was the king of Salem. And he did reign under his father. Now there were many before him, and also there were many afterwards, but none were greater. Therefore of him they have more particularly made mention." Note that in this passage *six* of the elements or motifs of Hebrews 7:1-4 appear *in the same order* as the Hebrews passage (see the Appendix): (1) the mention of Melchizedek with the demonstrative "this"; (2) the mention of his kingship over Salem; (3) the mention of his priesthood; (4) a remark about the meaning of his name or title; (5) a remark about his having or not having a father; and (6) a remark about his greatness. This sharing of elements in a common order is one of the strong evidences that Alma 13 depends on Hebrews, especially since the last three of these common elements are only in Hebrews (not in Genesis) and part of the epistle's own argument.

Other verses in Alma 13 exhibit the language and ideas of Hebrews 7:1-4. Alma 13:15 refers to the matter of Abraham paying tithes to Melchizedek: "And it was this same Melchizedek to whom Abraham paid tithes. Yea, even our father Abraham paid tithes of one-tenth part of all he possessed." And verse 7 together with verses 8-9 reflect the Hebrews material about an absence of genealogy. Verse 7 reads: "This high priesthood being after the order of his Son, which order was from the foundation of the world—or in other words, being without beginning of days or end of years, being prepared from eternity to all eternity, according to his foreknowledge of all things."

As is clear already from this summary of borrowed material, Smith does not simply cite the passage from Hebrews but gives it a new context and meaning. This is often to clarify difficult conceptions in the biblical text. For example, he solves the problem of Melchizedek's apparent lack of parents in two ways. First, at the end of verse 18 he added the statement that "he did reign under his father." This phrase, which because of its brevity may be easily missed, responds to a key conceptual

17. Though capitalization is not systematic in *P*, this title is capitalized there, and so I capitalize it here. This may indicate that it was immediately associated with Isaiah 9:6 (see below).

difficulty in Hebrews. Second, Smith gave the problematic description "having neither beginning of days, nor end of life" new referents so that it might make better sense. In this he exhibits the principle of *textual conservation*. Before showing what he did with this problematic description, I would like to elucidate the principle of textual conservation with a "textbook" example from another of Smith's compositions.

The example—a case where the element conserved is awkwardly superfluous and thus evidence that the text is revising the biblical text (in other words, Smith's text does not derive from an ancient source)—is the story of the creation of the woman and animals in Abraham 5. In the biblical text (Gen. 2:18-25) God says that he is going to create a "help meet" for the male. God then, surprisingly in view of our understanding of what this help meet should be, creates the animals. The man names the animals—but "for Adam there was not found an help meet for him." God then creates the woman and the man declares her to fit the bill of a help meet. Abraham 5, responding to the difficulty, reverses the order of the creation of the woman and the animals. In this text when God says he is going to create a help meet, he creates the woman. Switching the order of creating the animals and the woman demonstrates Smith's impulse to conserve the text. Although reversing these creative acts makes it unnecessary—even illogical—to retain Genesis's transitional phrase "there was not found an help meet for him," Abraham 5 retains this phrase awkwardly, though slightly altered to a positive formulation, at the end of the animal creation pericope or passage (5:21): "And Adam gave names to all cattle, to the fowl of the air, to every beast of the field; *and for Adam there was found an help meet for him.*"[18]

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18. On the dating of the creation story in the Book of Abraham, see n62. Another type of textual conservation is found in cases where Smith rewrote a text to solve a theological problem and recontextualized problematic language. Genesis 6:6 says that "it repented the Lord that he had made man on the earth, and it grieved him at his heart." This makes God appear imperfect and fickle. Instead of throwing out the statement, Smith recontextualizes it making Noah the one who repents. Smith adds a few verses telling about Noah's unsuccessful attempt to preach repentance (JSR Gen. 8:10-12 = Moses 8:23-24) then rewrote Genesis 6:6 as Noah's response to his failed mission: "And it repented Noah, and his heart was pained, that the Lord had made man on the earth, and it grieved him at his heart" (JSR Gen. 8:13 = Moses 8:25).

The Aramaic targumim (translations) of the Hebrew Bible reflect similar tendencies in textual conservation when elements of the biblical text are recontextualized. Compare, for example, God's question to Adam ("Where are you?"), when the latter hid after eating the forbidden fruit (Gen. 3:9). The question in the biblical text poses a difficulty in that it makes it appear as if God is ignorant of the man's hiding place. The Palestinian targumim solve this theological difficulty and in doing so display textual conservation. Targum Neofiti, one of the examplars of the Palestinian tradition, reads: *h' kl ʿlm' dbryt gly qdmy hçwkh wnhwrh gly qdmy w't Hçb dl' gly qdmy 'tr d't bgwyh 'n hy' mcwth dpqdt ytk;* "Behold, the entire world that I created is known before me—darkness and light are

Textual conservation is found in Joseph Smith's use of Hebrews 7:3 in Alma 13. Smith gives Melchizedek a father, as we have seen, but he does not delete entirely the elaborate phrasing of Hebrews 7:3. He places it in a new context, where it makes better sense. It is not Melchizedek who is genealogy-less; now it is the priesthood and Jesus. Alma 13:7, using the language of Hebrews 7:3, says that the priesthood existed from "the foundation of the world—or in other words, being without beginning of days or end of years, being prepared from eternity to all eternity. ..." Of course some modification is necessary: the elements about the lack of parents, descent, and life are dropped because they make no sense with a principle, power, or office. But the phraseology of Hebrews 7:3 is retained in the new context whenever possible. Alma 13:8, with more abbreviation, refers to this reapplication of the Hebrews element when it says the priesthood and related matters are "without beginning or end." The next verse applies this eternalness to Jesus, saying "the Only Begotten of the Father ... is without beginning of days or end of years" (13:9). The application of this phraseology to the priesthood and to Christ, by the way, is not a random pasting of excised text but part of the attempt of the chapter to show how priesthood callings are typological of Jesus' redemption. (See Section 3 below, for the matter of typology.) In this we see a creative transformation of a biblical passage to help establish a new religious perspective.

Still a shadow or trace of the original passage remains after Melchizedek has been given a father and the problematic description has been severed from him. Alma 13:19 continues that "there were many before him, and also there were many afterwards." The notion of no beginning and no end in Hebrews, with the ensuing context about Melchizedek's greatness, apparently generated this statement dealing

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known before me. Do you think that the place where you are hiding is not known before me? Where is the commandment which I commanded you?" Here God is represented as knowing all, even the place where Adam is hiding. The question "Where are you?" of the biblical text is no longer suited to the context. Instead of discarding it, however, it is recontextualized to refer to God's commandment (or commandments; see the marginal gloss to the Neofiti and also the Targum Pseudo-Jonathan in the *Miqra'ot Gedolot* [British Museum Manuscript Add. 27031 seems to be corrupt in the last phrase] and the manuscripts of the Fragmentary Targum).

Smith solves the problem of Genesis 3:9 by having the man and woman, not God, walk in the Garden in Genesis 3:8; cf. also Gen. 8:21 and JSR Gen. 9:5). This leads to their *going* to hide among the trees. While they are *going* to hide, God asks his question. In this context the question receives a new formulation: "Where goest thou?" (JSR Gen. 3:13-15 = Moses 4:14-15). God exhibits no ignorance because he catches the man and woman before they actually hide. That Joseph Smith responds to problems of the biblical text in a way similar to the targumim is an indication that the JSR is secondary to the biblical text, hence not ancient. This observation can be applied to the Bible material appearing in the Book of Mormon.

with people before and after. Hence there is a seventh element to add to the assemblage of motifs in a common order between Alma 13:17-19 and Hebrews 7:1-4, noted above. Another trace of Hebrews 7:3 and its applicability to Melchizedek is found in Alma 13:18 where it says that Melchizedek "took upon him the high priesthood forever." This echoes the Hebrews notion that Melchizedek "abideth a priest continually."[19]

A small but significant case of textual conservation can be seen in how Melchizedek's priesthood is specified in Alma. Hebrews throughout speaks of Jesus as a high priest and also refers to high priests of Aaronic descent, but Melchizedek is simply a "priest" in Hebrews 7:1. Still Alma 13:18, which parallels this verse, says that Melchizedek received the "high priesthood"; in other words he was a "high priest."[20] Where does Alma come by this designation? Certainly the designation is influenced by Alma 13's more general discussion of priesthood as "high priesthood." This discussion itself seems to be inspired by other passages in Hebrews referring to high priesthood. But there is a specific element in the Hebrews parallel which seems to generate the denomination of Melchizedek as a high priest. Note that Hebrews 7:1 says, following the wording of Genesis, that Melchizedek is a "priest of the most high God." In contrast Alma says that Melchizedek received the "high priesthood according to the holy order of God." The "high" element seems to have been transferred from describing God to describing Melchizedek's priesthood in Alma.[21]

A change which shows an attempt at making better theological sense of the Hebrews material is the expansion of the scope of Abraham's tithe.[22] In the context of Genesis 14, Abraham pays a tenth on

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19. On possible ancient parallels to the matter of "beginning of days" and "end of life/years," see n75.

20. The Targum Neofiti gives Melchizedek high priesthood when it expansively translates: *wh' hwh kwhn mçmç bkhnt rbth qdm 'lh' ʿl'h;* "he was a priest who served in the high priesthood before the most high God" (on Gen. 14:18). See Kobelski 1981, 64, 68-69. Philo also calls him "high priest of the great God" (*megas hiereus tou megistou theou; De Abrahamo* 235). It seems that the designation of Melchizedek as a high priest would be a natural development in Jewish exegesis inasmuch as Melchizedek appears as the only, therefore primary and chief, priestly figure in the story of Genesis 14. A connection between Melchizedek and the Aaronide high priesthood has been observed even by critical scholars (cf. Emerton 1971, 416). The designation of him as high priest would be by analogy to the Aaronide high priest. Note that in Neofiti's and Philo's descriptions, God still remains the "most high." In Alma 13:18, God is no longer designated "most high."

21. On this issue, see Welch 1990, 258.

22. In the Genesis Apocryphon (see Fitzmyer 1971), Abraham pays tithes out of the spoil from the flocks captured from the enemy kings (1QapGen 22:17). Cf. Josephus,

the spoil which he took in the battle described in the first part of that chapter.[23] Hebrews 7:4 specifically states that this was from the spoils of battle: "Now consider how great this man was, unto whom even the patriarch Abraham gave the tenth of the spoils." Smith generalizes this tithe in Alma 13:15 to say that it came from all Abraham's property: "Yea, even our father Abraham paid tithes of one-tenth part of all he possessed." He makes it a general principle, perhaps implying that Abraham paid tithe to Melchizedek regularly many times in his life. Melchizedek was his bishop, so to speak.[24] Notably, at the same time Smith changed the scope of the tithe, he left out any mention of a war context. By generalizing the tithe a more meaningful didactic context is generated. People in the nineteenth century do not have war spoils, but they do have possessions. With a general context, modern disciples can follow the example of Abraham.[25]

With regard to a textual matter pertaining to the tithe, Alma 13:15 twice refers, redundantly it seems, to Abraham paying tithes. The principle of textual conservation seems to be involved here. The first statement about Abraham paying tithes in Alma 13:18 uses different terminology than that in Hebrews 7:2. The Hebrews passage says "Abraham gave a tenth part of all" to Melchizedek (cf. v. 4); the first part of Alma 13:15 says "Abraham paid tithes" to the priest. The second part of Alma 13:15 has language more in tune with Hebrews 7:2: "our father Abraham paid tithes of one-tenth part of all." It is possible that Smith, after using general language about paying tithes, sought to align it more with the Hebrews description. He did this by adding the gloss word "yea" followed by the more similar language. Note how this text con-

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Antiquities, 1.10.2 181.

23. It has been argued that there is a contradiction in this with Genesis 14:22-23, which says that Abram/Abraham will not take of the spoil so that the king of Sodom will not be able to say he made the patriarch rich (cf. Emerton 1971, 408). How can Abraham pay tithes if he does not possess the spoil? The solution is to see that in war contexts, there is often a requirement to make a donation (though not necessarily a tithe) of the spoil to the deity (via the priests; cf. Num. 31:10-12, 25-54; this might echo tithe issues, see Milgrom 1990, 262-63, esp. on v. 30). Abraham is making this type of donation to Melchizedek. The remaining nine-tenths is his to do with as he will, and it is this that he according to context refuses to take. However, the deity's share is not his to refuse.

24. This in fact is the implication brought out in JSR Genesis 14. See Excursus 2, H., below.

25. Most critical scholars see Genesis 14:18-20 (and perhaps also 17b) as an addition to the story. If this Melchizedek story existed as a separate tradition before its incorporation into Genesis 14, the tithe might have been paid on something other than war spoils. Such a critical decontextualizing of the passage, however, does not lead to any knowledge about what the tithe could have come from. To say that it was from all of Abraham's possessions would be pure speculation.

serving gloss is redundant in saying that he "paid tithes." This is something of a resumptive repetition which provides a "vehicle" for carrying the new information of the gloss.[26]

A movement from a particularized to generalized context is seen in Smith's treatment of the interpretations of Melchizedek's name and title in the last half of Hebrews 7:2. In Alma Smith does not deal with linguistic interpretation but rather contextual extrapolation. He constructs a midrashic biography of Melchizedek, where the explanation of his name as "King of righteousness" becomes the grounds of speaking about Melchizedek's and his people's righteousness and where the title "King of peace" becomes the basis for talking about the result of Melchizedek's preaching and the people's turning to righteousness.

The detail of this argument needs to be fleshed out. The pericope about Melchizedek is found in Alma 13:14-19. Here it is said that in the days of Melchizedek, his people humbled themselves (v. 14). Melchizedek was king over Salem and earlier in his lifetime "his people had waxed strong in iniquity and abomination. Yea, they had all gone astray; they were full of all manner of wickedness. But Melchizedek, having exercised mighty faith and received the office of the high priesthood according to the holy order of God, did preach repentance unto his people. And behold, they did repent ..."(vv. 17-18). These verses may develop from the description in Hebrews of Melchizedek as a "King of righteousness." That is, the implications of that explanation of his name are being projected into the narrative. To be sure the pericope never mentions the explained title "King of righteousness" or even the term "righteousness" as something Melchizedek or his people sought after or achieved.[27] But textual conservation suggests that the name might not have disappeared totally. It makes sense to find it preserved conceptually in the story.

This seems confirmed in how Alma 13 deals with the explanation of Melchizedek's title as "King of peace." The narrative about Melchizedek in Alma 13 continues with further description relating to this title. The people repented "And Melchizedek did establish peace in the land in his days, therefore he was called the Prince of Peace, for he was the king of Salem" (v. 18). This indicates that the title "King of peace" in Hebrews has generated a segment of the story about Melchizedek and his people, and the events of history projected from this title become the basis for

26. This argument shows that paying "tithes of one-tenth part" is not a tithe on a tithe (cf. Num. 18:26). This genitive construction is merely a genitive of equivalence meaning Abraham "paid tithes, i.e., one-tenth part. ..."

27. The term appears, however, in Alma 13:10 (and 12:16, 32).

the title "Prince of Peace" given in Alma.

More precision can be given to this observation. The explanation of the name "King of righteousness," which Hebrews notes as the "first" explanation it gives, may have led to the formulation of the *first* part of the story in Alma 13:14-18a. And the explanation of the title "King of peace," which Hebrews gives "after that," led to the formulation of the last part of the story in Alma 13:18b. In other words the "first" and "after that" in Hebrews may have been taken by Smith not as the interpretation of Melchizedek's name and title in order but as designations which he received at two different points in his lifetime.

Alma's title for Melchizedek is "Prince of Peace"[28] not "King of peace" as in Hebrews. The question arises as to where this particular title came from. It does not come wholly out of the title "King of Salem" but derives in part from Isaiah 9:6, which speaks, as it is interpreted in Christian tradition, of the Messianic "Prince of Peace." By bringing in this Messianic title, Smith is able to further forge the typology of priesthood: just as Jesus is the "Prince of Peace," so any righteous priesthood leader can be by pursuing his calling of teaching. (On this, see Section 3, below.)

The way the two texts treat Melchizedek's name and title is, by the way, further proof of the dependence of Alma 13 on Hebrews. Hebrews derives explanations by simple linguistic definition; Alma 13 in contrast does not betray linguistic interpretation: the element "prince" in Alma does not exactly match the meaning of *melek* "king," and "Prince of Peace" derives out of a situation of peace established by Melchizedek. It is hard to imagine Hebrews's explanations deriving from Alma or a text like Alma. But it can be imagined, as I have here, how elements of Alma derive from Hebrews. The logical priority of Hebrews's interpretation in connection with the many other parallels between Hebrews and Alma indicates that Alma is secondary to and depends on Hebrews.

The lack of linguistic savvy shown in the treatment of Melchizedek's name and title in Alma 13 makes sense in light of the fact that Smith was unfamiliar with Hebrew at the time of composing the Book of Mormon. His Hebrew study did not begin in earnest until early 1836 (see Zucker 1968).[29]

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28. Philo describes Melchizedek in the course of his exegesis as "ruler/prince of peace, of Salem" (*hegemon eirenes Salem; Legum Allegoria* 3.80). This designation he develops in contrast to the "prince of war" (*archon polemou*). These designations seem to grow out of the particular philosophical point he is making.

29. Welch 1990, 262, recognizes the lack of linguistic concern in Alma when he says: "Alma also feels no need for pendantry [sic] over etymologies either regarding the name Salem or the name Melchizedek." Cf. his comment on p. 263.

A final observation for this part of my study—I noted above that in Hebrews 7 mention of Melchizedek's bringing forth bread and wine was omitted. Interestingly this is also missing in Alma 13 (it is found, however, in JSR Genesis 14). Why is this the case? Certainly Smith could have used it to develop a typology of Christ, a matter that is his concern elsewhere in Alma 12-13. Why did he not do this? The reason is clear in view of the argument that I am presenting here: Smith was relying on Hebrews not Genesis 14 for his information about Melchizedek in the composition of these particular chapters. Since Hebrews did not have this element, it did not enter into Smith's consideration.[30]

2. Hardening, Provoking, Entering, Procrastinating

Other chapters of Hebrews which influenced Joseph Smith's composition of Alma 12-13 were Hebrews 3 and 4. Hebrews cites part of Psalm 95 in the middle of chapter 3, and at the end of chapter 3 and at the beginning of chapter 4 it gives a somewhat lengthy interpretation of the meaning of the Psalm for its first-century audience. The Book of Mormon also has a citation of what is supposedly a scriptural passage (it is not Psalm 95) with an application of its elements to its audience. The citation, its context, and the interpretation built upon it are similar enough to those in Hebrews to constitute a parallel and demonstrate dependence of Alma on Hebrews. But there are significant differences between the parallel elements in the two works. A study of these provides insight into how Smith modulated existing scriptural text to new ends. We find here, as in the foregoing discussion, a tendency to generalize and abstract material that has a more particularized context in Hebrews.

I will first summarize the material in Hebrews. In chapter 3 the writer says that believers in Jesus can be his "house" over which he rules if they continue in their faithfulness. This sets up the occasion for an exhortation to faithfulness, which is introduced by the citation of the last half of Psalm 95. This citation is introduced by the phrase: "Wherefore, as the Holy Ghost saith."[31] The words of the Psalm then follow: "Today

30. Another sign of the dependence of Alma 13 on Hebrews and not on Genesis is the appearance of the tithe-paying patriarch's name as "Abraham" (Alma 13:15) rather than "Abram" as it is in Genesis 14. Hebrews 7:1-4, even though it is relying on Genesis 14 which has the patriarch's earlier name, refers to him as "Abraham" (Greek, *Abraam*; cf. the Septuagint on Genesis 14 which has *Abram*; only from Genesis 17:5 on does it have *Abraam*).

31. This introduction, similar to another introduction to a scriptural citation in Hebrews 10:15 where Jeremiah 31:33 is cited, shows that the Old Testament is the specific source of the citation. Cf. Attridge 1989, 24, 114.

if ye will hear his voice, harden not your hearts, as in the provocation, in the day of temptation in the wilderness, when your fathers tempted me, proved me, and saw my works forty years. Wherefore I was grieved with that generation, and said, They do alway err in their heart; and they have not known my ways. So I sware in my wrath, 'They shall not enter into my rest'" (Heb. 3:7-11).

This passage refers to the story in the Hebrew Bible about the Israelites' rebellions in the wilderness before they entered the land of Canaan.[32] After citing this psalm, Hebrews continues with an exhortation directed toward the author's "brethren" and built upon the elements of the psalm. Four topics or motifs deriving from Psalm 95 receive special emphasis in this exhortation: (a) hardening hearts, (b) entering into God's rest, (c) "Today" as the time for faithfulness and when some divine promises are to take effect,[33] and (d) provoking God (references are given below).

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32. The Psalm's text depends in large part on wilderness rebellion traditions such as those recounted in the Pentateuch. Note the following passages whose language Psalm 95 shares: Num. 14:22, "All the people who saw (*haro'im*) my glory, my signs which I performed in Egypt and in the wilderness"//Ps. 95:9, "they saw my work(s) (*ra'u poᶜoli/ay*)"; Num. 14:22, "they tried me (*waynassu 'oti*)"; Deut. 6:16, "Do not try (*tenassu*) the Lord your God just as you tried [him] (*nissitem*) at Massah" (cf. Deut. 33:8)//Ps. 95:9, "your fathers tried me (*nissuni*)"; Num. 14:22, "they did not hearken to my voice (*welo' çameᶜu beqoli*)"//Ps. 95:7, "if you hearken to his voice (*'im beqolo tiçmeᶜu*)"; Num. 14:30 "you shall not come into the land (*'im-'attem tabo'u 'el-ha'arec*) which I swore [literally lifted up my hand] to have you dwell in"; Num. 14:23, "they shall not see the land which I sware (*niçbaᶜti*) to their fathers—all those who spurn me shall not see it"; 14:24, "Caleb, I will bring him (*wahabi'otiw*) into the land to which he shall come (*ba'*)"; Deut. 12:9, "you have not come (*ba'tem*) yet to the rest (*menuHa*) and inheritance which the Lord your God is giving you"//Ps. 95:11, "I swore (*niçbaᶜti*) in my wrath, They shall not enter (*yebo'un*) into my rest (*menuHa'ti*)." With regard to the matter of rest, new camp sites in the wilderness were called "resting places" (*menuHa*; cf. Num. 10:33). The final *menuHa* "rest" for the Israelites was the land of Canaan, as Deut. 12:8-10 indicates. Moses tells the people that, being on the east of the Jordan, they had not yet come to the "resting place" (*menuHa*) and to the inheritance (*naHala*) which God is going to give them (this may refer to the temple, cf. the context of bringing offerings and see Preuss 1985, 306). They still have to cross the Jordan River. Then they will dwell in the land which God is giving them as an inheritance (*manHil 'etkem*), and he will give them rest (*heniaH lakem*; same root as *menuHa*). This term also has an element of respite from enemies: Solomon praises God who has given "rest" (*menuHa*) to "his people, Israel" (1 Kgs. 8:56). The passage from Deuteronomy just noted says that in this land the Israelites shall live in security (*wiçabtem-beTaH*; Deut. 12:10; cf. 3:20; 25:19; Josh. 1:15; 21:44; 22:4; Ex. 33:14; 2 Sam. 7:1). On the "provocation" (*meriba*) and the "day of temptation" (*yom massa*) of Psalm 95 in Hebrews 3:8, see the discussion below and n39.

33. On the senses of "Today" in Hebrews, cf. Barrett 1956, 366-67 (and passim). The writer uses "Today" as being the time when "the readers of the epistle must give heed to the admonition" (cf. 3:13), but it is also used in an eschatological sense to indicate that "the rest [of God] remains still open to the faith of those who hear his words" (3:15-4:11, esp. 4:7-8).

Alma 12-13 contains a "citation" paralleling that in Hebrews 3, and these Book of Mormon chapters focus on the same four elements just listed. The high priest, Alma, speaks about God giving commandments to people and revealing the plan of redemption (12:32). In this context he introduces his citation with: "But God did call on men, in the name of his Son ... saying" (v. 33). The citation follows (vv. 33-35): "If ye will repent, and harden not your hearts, then will I have mercy upon you, through mine Only Begotten Son. Therefore whosoever repenteth and hardeneth not his heart, he shall have claim on mercy through mine Only Begotten Son, unto a remission of their sins, and these shall enter into my rest. And whosoever will harden his heart and will do iniquity, behold, I swear in my wrath that they shall not enter into my rest." After the quotation Alma resumes his general exhortation as is indicated by the words "And now, my brethren ..." (v. 36).

The citations and their contexts in Alma 12 and Hebrews 3 share four elements in the same general order (see the Appendix). Even though the two works are not citing the same passage, they both (a) begin their citations by reference to *divine instruction*: "as the Holy Ghost saith" (Hebrews) and "God did call on men ... saying" (Alma). Then come the citations. The Alma citation has two motifs similar to those of the Hebrews citation in the same order: (b) the notion of *hardening of hearts* occurs first followed by (c) the notion of *God swearing* that hardened people will not *enter his rest*. Finally (d), each quotation is followed by exhortation with similar language: "Take heed, *brethren*, lest there be in any of you an evil *heart* of unbelief" (Hebrews) and "And now, my *brethren*, behold I say unto you that if ye will harden your *hearts* ..." (Alma). Both address their audience as "brethren" and refer to hearts.

The parallels between these two texts are too precise to be coincidental; some sort of interdependence must exist. This interdependence is confirmed by the texts' focusing on the same four motifs outside the quotations' contexts (see below). What is the nature of this dependence? On the basis of the texts that stand before us, the conclusion is that the Alma 12 passage depends on that in Hebrews 3. The logic is this. Hebrews 3 and Alma 12 depend ostensibly on different sources for their citations. But it would be a tremendous coincidence for them to have the same motifs and the same citation structure if they came from separate sources. The contradiction between their certain interdependence and their divergent citations is solved when the nature of the citation sources is recognized and considered. The citation in Hebrews 3 derives from an attested source, Psalm 95, whereas that in Alma 12 derives from an unattested source. This suggests that Alma 12's citation does not really rely on an un-

known source but on the citation and context of Hebrews 3 itself. Alma 12 invents a citation, thus transforming the sense of the Hebrews material for its own ends.[34]

This invented quotation is a good example of Smith's creative reworking of the Bible. The substance of Alma's citation has been "generalized" so that it no longer refers to ancient Israel in the wilderness as Psalm 95 did, which context Hebrews acknowledges. The context of Alma's discourse in the verses before the quotation gives the impression that Alma's citation is to be considered an exhortation given at the beginning of human history. Moreover, the citation itself has been "Christianized" in that Jesus' atonement is brought into play: God "will have mercy on" those who do not harden their hearts "to a remission of their sins" through his "Only Begotten Son." In this we see that just as Melchizedek's biography was expanded from a limited event of Abraham paying war tithes to a summary of the priest-king's life work, so this passage from scripture with a limited historical framework—the wilderness rebellions of the Israelites—has been generalized, even primordialized, and thus made more universally applicable.

I have noted that Alma 12-13 focus on the same four elements or motifs as Hebrews 3-4. In these common motifs we find further exemplification of the move from a specific toward more universal and general contextualization. These four elements in Hebrews 3-4 and the number of times they occur outside the quotation of Psalm 95 in Hebrews 3:7-11 are as follows: (a) hardening hearts, mentioned three times (Heb. 3:13, 15; 4:7; cf. 3:12), (b) entering into God's rest, eleven times (Heb. 3:18, 19; 4:1, 3, 5, 6b, 8, 9, 10, 11), (c) "Today" as the time for faithfulness and when some of the divine promises will take effect, four times (Heb. 3:13, 15; 4:7b [cf. 4:8]), and (d) provoking God, two times (Heb. 3:15, 16). Alma 12-13 have a similar numerical concentration of the same four elements (these numbers exclude the instances in the "citation" of Alma in 12:33-35): (a) hardening hearts, eight times (Alma 12:10b, 11, 13b, 36, 37; 13:4), (b) entering into God's rest, seven times (Alma 12:36, 37; 13:6, 12, 13, 16, 29), (c) acting in the present on matters of faithfulness, two times (Alma 13:21, 27; cf. 12:24-28), and (d) provoking God, four times (Alma 12:36, 37).

This focusing on similar motifs demonstrates further textual interdependence. One fact that shows the direction of dependence is that

34. One could hypothesize the existence of a parent text which would give rise to the commonalities between the texts and yet allow for the differences between the cited sources. This theoretically could solve the difficulties noted. But this textual hypothesis has grave difficulties, which I discuss in the conclusion to this paper.

only two of these motifs—hardening hearts and entering into God's rest—are found in the citation in Alma 12:33-35. The other two motifs—attending to faithfulness in the present and provoking God—are not in this citation. Hebrews on the other hand derives all four elements from its citation of Psalm 95. Where does Alma come by the two motifs not found in its citation? When one considers all the textual parallels between Hebrews and Alma 12-13, it seems these motifs were inspired by Hebrews.

Joseph Smith used these basic elements to serve new ends.[35] The phrase in Hebrews (from Psalm 95) which reads "To day if ye will hear his voice, harden not your hearts" appears to be a stimulus for the phrase: "do not procrastinate the day of your repentance" (Alma 13:27). This phrase appears here first in the Book of Mormon. Elsewhere it appears only in Alma 34:33, 35 and in Helaman 13:38. Alma 12:24-28 talk about humanity's probationary state, and the discourse returns to the subject after the discussion of priesthood—after the material on Melchizedek—with the words "Now is the time to repent, for the day of salvation draweth nigh" (13:21). After a discussion about receiving revelation and expecting Jesus in the flesh, the famous exhortation of Alma 13:27 appears.[36] One should observe that the phraseology about not procrastinating was common in the religious environment of Smith's day,[37] which helps explain why the terminology in Alma 13 diverges from the parallels in Hebrews: the Hebrews terminology brought to mind the issue of attention to faithfulness in the present and Smith used a more current idiom to express this.

The issue of "provocation" is also instructive of how Smith used the biblical text. First a textual matter must be explained. Verse 8 of Psalm 95, which has this term, is to be understood and translated differently than its rendering in Hebrews 3:8 and in KJV of Psalm 95:8 (which is the same as Heb. 3:8). The Hebrew terms behind the

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35. Readers may pursue on their own how Joseph Smith generalized the matters of hardening hearts and entering into God's rest by reviewing the passages cited above. On the matter of rest, cf. the context of the Hebrew Bible in n32. The notion in the Book of Mormon is much more abstract and general than the notion in Psalm 95 and even the development of the idea in Hebrews 3-4.

36. The appearance of the motif of procrastinating the day of one's repentance in Alma 34:33, 35 is accompanied by some of the themes found in Alma 12-13: hardening hearts (34:31), the plan of redemption (34:31; cf. Alma 12:25, 26, 30, 32, 33), and bringing forth fruits for repentance (34:30; 13:13; cf. 12:15). The Hebrews 3-4/Psalm 95 notion is not the only impetus for the idea that the present is the time when faith and righteousness must be pursued. Compare 2 Corinthians 6:2, "now is the day of salvation," with Alma 13:21, "now is the time to repent, for the day of salvation draweth nigh." Compare with this Alma 34:31: "now is the time and the day of your salvation."

37. Brought to my attention by Mark D. Thomas.

translations "provocation" and "temptation" are actually place names. Hence the verse should be translated: "Do not harden your hearts as at *Meribah*, as on the day of *Massah*."[38] These were places in the wilderness where the Israelites rebelled against God.[39] It is true that because of this rebellion context, the names are viewed respectively as being connected with the Hebrew roots *rib*, "to argue, contend," and *nissa*, "to put to the test, to try." And it is true that the terms *meriba* and *massa* occur as common nouns.[40] But the words as they appear in Psalm 95 are preeminently proper nouns; the wilderness context makes this clear. The reason for Hebrews 3:8 having the terms "provocation" and "temptation" is due to its dependence on the Greek Septuagint, a translation of the Hebrew Bible that was made by stages in the third and second centuries B.C.E.[41] The appearance of this translation tradition in Alma 12-13 is an anachronism and provides another bit of evidence that Alma 12-13 depend on Hebrews.

This rendering of place names as common nouns in Hebrews allowed Smith to manipulate the notion of provocation in a creative fashion, generalizing the notion by setting it in another place, or other *places*, in history. Note that Alma 12:36-37 talk about how sin provokes God so that he sends his wrath. In discussing this it refers

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38. For the phrase "day of" with a geographical noun following, cf. "day of Midian," Isa. 9:3 (English v. 4); the "day of Jezreel," Hos. 2:2 (English v. 1:11); "day of Jerusalem," Ps. 137:7; "day of Egypt," Ezek. 30:9. Modern translations and treatments of Psalm 95:8 render the terms as proper nouns (see, for example, the NJPS, RSV, NRSV, NAB, JB, NJB, NEB, NIV; Weiser 1962, 627; Kraus 1989, 244, 247-48; Dahood 1968, 352, 354). The Aramaic Targum to the Psalms renders the words in terms of their common noun meanings: *l' tqçwn lbkwn hyk bmcwt' hyk ywm' dnsytwn 'lh' bmdbr'*, "Do not harden your heart as in the quarrel, as on the day when you tried God in the wilderness." The targumim are interpretive translations and often seek to bring out latent meanings of the text. Hence this evidence does not indicate that the nouns are to be taken as common nouns. For this tendency of the targumim, see Targum Onkelos on Deut. 1:1 and Vermes 1963, 167-68.

39. Cf. Ex. 17:7; Deut. 6:16; 9:22; 33:8; cf. also Num. 20:13, 24; Ps. 81:8 [Eng. v. 7]; 106:32. Cf. *me meribat qadeç*, "the waters of Meribat Kadesh" in Num. 27:14; Deut. 32:51; Ezek. 47:19; 48:28.

40. *meriba* is used as a common noun only in Gen. 13:8; Num. 27:14. *massa* occurs four times as a common noun (Deut. 4:34; 7:19; 29:2 [3]; Job 9:23; the Deuteronomy instances are in the plural in the sense of "miraculous/wondrous acts").

41. See Attridge 1989, 115; Spicq 1952-53, 2:72, 73; Michel 1966, 182; Buchanan 1972, 61. That the author of Hebrews depends on the Septuagint is also seen in his drawing an analogy between the "rest" of Genesis 2:2 and Psalm 95:11 in Hebrews 4:4-5, which is easier to do when using the Septuagint which uses the same word stem in both passages (*katepausen*, "he rested," and *katapausin*, "rest [noun]," respectively) as opposed to the Hebrew which uses different roots (*wayyiçbot*, "he rested," and *menuHa*, "rest [noun]"). See Attridge 1992, 102.

to "first" and "last" instances of provocation: God will send his wrath upon the wicked "as in the first provocation, yea, according to his word in the last provocation as well as the first, to the everlasting destruction of your souls" (v. 36).

What exactly are the first and last provocations? These begin to find their meaning in the explanatory parallel which follows: "therefore, according to his word, unto the last death, as well as the first." The first and last provocations seem to be connected with the first and last deaths. First and last deaths are treated earlier in the chapter and are connected with other firsts, seconds, and others. Alma 12:31 speaks of God having given commandments—first commandments—which were transgressed, leading humans to become "as Gods, knowing good from evil." This by its context refers to the commandment not to eat the fruit of the Tree of the Knowledge of Good and Evil in the Garden of Eden. After this transgression, "God gave unto them [other] commandments ... that they should not do evil, the penalty thereof being a second death ..." (v. 32). The "second death" is treated earlier in the chapter in verses 15-16. After people come to stand before God in judgment, "then cometh a death, even a second death, which is a spiritual death; then is a time that whosoever dieth in his sins, as to the temporal death, shall also die a spiritual death. Yea, he shall die as to things pertaining unto righteousness." It appears from these verses taken together that the first provocation is the sin of eating of the fruit in the Garden of Eden; this provocation brought the first death or temporal death. The last provocation seems to have to do with an individual's sin, which provokes the wrath of God to inflict a second or spiritual death.[42]

3. Priesthood Order

It has become clear in the foregoing that Alma 12-13 tend to generalize or abstract particularistic formulations in Hebrews and seek to solve logical or theological problems in that New Testament text. There are some other apparent difficulties in Hebrews regarding the priesthood—the duties of the priesthood, the scope of those who possessed it, and denomination of priesthood—that Alma 13 treats differently. It is difficult in each case to say that Joseph Smith is exegetically "solving" these difficulties. Perhaps Hebrews is acting more as a springboard for perceptions which develop apart from the Hebrews text, and these perceptions happen to "solve" difficulties simply because they are different.

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42. All these observations should make it clear that Smith is not working with Psalm 95 directly. He reflects this through Hebrews's treatment of the Psalm, just as he reflects material about Melchizedek through Hebrews's treatment of that figure. On a separate matter, compare Jacob 1:7b-8a, which may also depend on Hebrews.

The first apparent difficulty concerning priesthood in Hebrews is the impression, a correct impression in the historical context, that mortal[43] priesthood has to do with cultic matters—the temple, sacrifices and offerings, festivals, and matters of purity.[44] It is not an office under which all religious duties are subsumed. This is the context in the several places where human priests or priesthood are mentioned,[45] and this is generally the context, though it is necessarily spiritualized, where Jesus is referred to as priest or high priest.[46] It is this cultic context, in fact, that reveals where Hebrews derives some of the stimulus for describing Jesus as a priest and particularly a high priest. Since priesthood was cultic, there would seem to be no reason in attributing to Jesus this office. On the other hand, one of the troubling events in Christian history was the death of Jesus, the messianic leader of the community. Jesus' suspicions that he might suffer death may have led to his own speculation about the meaning of that death. Certainly early on his followers began to describe his death as a sacrificial, expiating death.[47] Hence this general perception about Jesus' death was probably not new to the author of Hebrews in the later part of the first century when he wrote. But this author takes this basic notion and builds on it a much more elaborate metaphoric description of Jesus in relation to the cult. In Hebrews Jesus continues to be a sacrificial animal, and his blood effects expiation.[48] His flesh is

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43. There was speculation about priestly function of angels and of a heavenly Melchizedek in various streams of early Jewish tradition. These heavenly priests often had more than strict cultic functions (cf. Attridge 1989, 97-103; Kobelski 1981, 3-23, 49-74). In fact, in 11QMelch what is said about cultic functions of Melchizedek is not clear (see Kobelski 1981, 64-71).

44. The writer is not getting things wrong here; priesthood according to the Hebrew Bible mainly has to do with cultic matters. "Priesthood" (*kehuna*) was a matter of functioning as a "priest" (*kohen*), i.e., in cultic matters. Calling a prophet's power "priesthood" is a later development, growing out of developments in Christian tradition and out of later exegeses of works such as Hebrews as we find in Alma 13 (see below). One may speak of prophetic divine power and calling (cf. Jer. 1:4-10), but calling this "priesthood" when speaking of ancient Israel is anachronistic and determined by a later conception of "priesthood." For an attempt to find a less or noncultic meaning of *kohen* in Psalm 110:4, see Horton 1976, 45-48. His attempt is forced. At any rate, whether *kohen* in Psalm 110:4 meant something other than a cultic functionary at an earlier period, it certainly was understood in a cultic (though metaphorical) sense by the writer of Hebrews.

45. Heb. 5:1; 7:1, 3, 5, 11, 21, 23, 27, 28; 8:3, 4; 9:6, 7; 10:11; 13:11.

46. Heb. 2:17; 3:1; 4:14-15; 5:5, 6, 10; 6:20; 7:11, 14, 15, 17, (20), 21, 24, 26; 8:1, 4; 9:11, 25; 10:21.

47. See, for example, Rom. 3:25; 5:9; 8:32; 1 Cor. 5:7; cf. later expressions in Eph. 5:2; Matt. 26:28; Mark 10:45; John 1:29, 36. See Attridge 1989, 97-103.

48. See Heb. 8-10, 13 in particular.

also likened to the temple veil through which the believers pass to salvation.[49] And he is called a high priest. A partial basis for Jesus' priesthood, Psalm 110:4, calls its addressee a priest, not a high priest. But it is the comparison of Jesus' expiatory work with that of the Aaronide high priest, particularly on the Day of Atonement (cf. Lev. 16), that appears to give him the specific denomination of "high priest."[50] At any rate all this shows that in describing priesthood, the book of Hebrews represents it as an office limited to cultic matters.

Another ostensible difficulty in Hebrews is that the priesthood of the Melchizedek type does not appear to be available to humans in general. Only two are mentioned as having this type of priesthood: Melchizedek and Jesus. The limited character of this priesthood is betokened, moreover, in the author's description of Jesus' priestly function as being chiefly expiatory—to rectify the sins of believers (see Heb. 7-10). Jesus' priestly and expiatory function, the writer argues, stood in stark contrast to the character of the expiatory work carried out by the priests of Aaronic descent. There were many Aaronide priests. Why? Because they were mortal and needed to be replaced. They performed many sacrifices. Why? Because the sacrifices were not "perfect" (cf. Heb. 10:1-12). Jesus' priestly act changed all this. As a heavenly high priest, he effected expiation in the heavenly sanctuary with his own blood. This he needed to do only once because his sacrifice was perfect. Since Jesus offered the perfect sacrifice, there was implicitly no more need for human priests.

The third theological difficulty in Hebrews concerns the denomination of the priesthood. I have already noted how Hebrews uses Old Testament texts as sources for the ideas it develops. Another example of this dependence is the characterization of Jesus' priesthood as being like that of Melchizedek. The author's inspiration and justification for this is Psalm 110:4: "The Lord hath sworn, and will not repent, 'Thou art a priest for ever after the order of Melchizedek.'" This is a royal psalm which, according to historical-critical study, speaks ideally of the kings of the Davidic dynasty.[51] Royal psalms acquired an eschatological sig-

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49. Heb. 10:20. Some critical scholars delete this metaphor. Attridge (1989, 283) is of the opinion it need not be deleted. See Koester 1989, 164-65.

50. Heb. 2:17; 3:1; 4:14-15; 5:10; 6:20; 7:26; 8:1; 9:11; 10:21; for the human comparison cf. Heb. 5:1; 7:27, 28; 8:3; 9:7, 25; 13:11; note the conflation of the Aaronide office with the quotation from Psalm 110 in Hebrews 5:10: "Called of God an *high* priest after the order of Melchisedec." Cf. Joseph Smith's "heightening" of the priesthood in Alma 13:18 vis-à-vis Heb. 7:1 (see the discussion in Section 1, above).

51. Though earlier generations of critical scholars dated the psalm to the second century B.C.E., it is probably preexilic (i.e., before 586 B.C.E.). It apparently strives to connect the Davidic dynasty back to the supposed earlier king of Jerusalem (=Salem), i.e.,

nificance in the Second Temple period (515 B.C.E.-70 C.E.) and came to form part of the expectations of a "messiah" in the first century C.E. The writer of Hebrews sees this verse of Psalm 110 as being spoken to Jesus. This is a foundational text for the argument of the author of Hebrews; he cites it or refers to it six times.[52] This denomination of Jesus' priesthood as being "after the order of Melchizedek," however, contains a theological difficulty. Why is Jesus' priesthood named after Melchizedek's? Should it not be the other way around? Should not Christ's priesthood be the paradigm?[53]

Alma 13 has something to say about each of these three difficulties. Unlike Hebrews, Alma 13 recognizes no cultic duties but rather connects the duties of the priesthood with teaching: "the Lord God ordained priests ... to teach these things [the foregoing commandments and admonitions] unto the people" (13:1). Priests are "called ... to and ordained ... to teach [God's] commandments unto the children of men, that they also might enter into his rest" (v. 6). When the chapter speaks of Melchizedek, the matter of tithes (which is related to the cult) is juxtaposed with the statement that he acquired priesthood (vv. 14-15). But a more intimate connection is made later between his priesthood and his preaching repentance (v. 18).[54] This understanding of priesthood duties pervades the Book of Mormon and supports the

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Melchizedek. The Davidic king or the dynasty is being pronounced a priest or priests collectively, after the order of Melchizedek. There is a tradition of David's sons being priests (2 Sam. 8:18) and David himself acted in quasi-priestly roles (2 Sam. 6:12-19). See Kraus 1989, 350-51; Weiser 1962, 695-96; Cross 1973, 264-65. For other "royal psalms," see Psalm 2 (which Hebrews makes use of: Heb. 1:5; 5:5), 18, 20, 21, 45, 72, 89, 101, 132. On the use of the psalm in Second Temple times, see Kobelski 1981, 52-53.

52. Heb. 5:6, 10; 6:20; 7:11, 17, 21; cf. 7:15, 28. The psalm otherwise serves as a basis of argument or exposition: Heb. 1:3, 13; 8:1; 10:12-13; 12:2; and cf. Matt. 26:64; Mark 12:36; Acts 2:34-36 (and see Kobelski 1981, 53).

53. Once Hebrews comes close to reversing the denomination: "but [Melchizedek was] made like unto the Son of God [and] abideth a priest continually" (7:3). This does not cancel out the impression of problematic designation imparted otherwise. This may have in fact given Smith a lead in how to reconstrue the denomination.

54. The closest we come to cultic matters is the metaphoric description of sanctification and purification of obedient believers in Alma 13:11-12, which might be said to come partly through being ordained a priest.

The notion of sanctification as found in Alma 13:11-12 does not occur in the Hebrew Bible but is apparently a later development basing itself on notions of sanctification in the New Testament. For the language and ideas of Alma 13:11-12, cf. Rom. 12:9; 15:16; 1 Cor. 1:2; 6:11; Eph. 5:26-27; 2 Thess. 2:13; 1 Pet. 1:2; Rev. 7:14 (cf. forerunners in Dan. 11:35; 12:10). On the notion of sanctification in the Old and New Testaments, see Wright 1992; Blackman 1962. The notion of sanctification appears in Hebrews at 2:11; 10:10, 14, 29. It does not appear that these Hebrews verses were particular stimuli for the appearance of the notion in Alma 13.

observations made about the matter in Alma 13: being a "priest" was largely a teaching office or one of ecclesiastical supervision, sometimes accompanied by judicial functions.[55] This view of priesthood correlates generally with the meaning of the term "priest" in Smith's day and his use of the term outside the Book of Mormon. A priest in the nineteenth century could be "any licensed minister of the Gospel," and Smith called protestant preachers "priests."[56]

The limitation of Melchizedek's priesthood to two persons, is obviated when Alma 13 grants priesthood—actually "high priesthood"[57]—to a large number of faithful people (males according to the context of priesthood in the Book of Mormon and according to the context of its development in later Mormonism). The text says that these people are called by a "holy calling"[58] to the priesthood by "the foreknowledge of God" (cf. Alma 13:1-18; on the nature of this calling, see below). It is possible to argue that the text intends this priesthood to be the right of all faithful males. Alma 13:5, which says that this calling was prepared for "such as would not harden their hearts," seems to suggest this.[59]

Other passages indicate that this calling might have been intended for only some males, since, for instance, logically not everyone could be a teacher. Alma 13:2, which distinguishes between priests

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55. Cf. 2 Ne. 5:26; Jacob 1:17-19; Jarom 1:11; Mosiah 6:3; 18:18, 24, 26, 28; 23:15-17; 25:19, 21; 26:7; 27:1, 22; 29:42; Alma 1:3, 26; 4:4, 7, 18, 20; 5:3; 6:1; 8:11, 23; 15:13; 16:5; 23:4; 30:20-22, 23, 28, 29, 31; 45:22, 23; 46:6, 38; Hel. 3:25; 3 Ne. 6:22. Even King Noah's priests "teach" and pass judgments (Mosiah 11:5, 7, 11; 12:17, 25; 17:1, 6, 12; for other contexts where evil people have priesthood, see Alma 14:18, 27; 16:18; 35:5). Note the continuity in function into the "Christian" era of the Book of Mormon: Moro. 3:1-4; cf. the new function in Moro. 4:1.

56. See D. Peterson 1990, 193-95 for a discussion (and cf. Toscano 1989, 8-9). For Smith's and his contemporaries' use of the term, cf. JS-H 1:6; Jessee 1989, 238, 298. Peterson accepts the Book of Mormon as ancient and develops an argument that Book of Mormon priests had cultic duties by virtue of the fact that "pre-Christian" Book of Mormon people said they observed the "Law of Moses" (2 Ne. 5:10; 25:24) and had a temple. He does recognize, however, that the Book of Mormon mainly characterizes the function of priests as teaching (pp. 193-95).

57. There seems to be no distinction between regular priests and high priests in Alma 13 (cf. vv. 1, 2, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 14, 15, 18).

58. "Holy calling" appears in Alma 13:3, 4, 5, 6, 8—but only in 2 Timothy 1:9 in the Bible—and constitutes on the face of it an anachronism. The term in Alma 13 may be stimulated by "heavenly calling" in Hebrews 3:1.

59. That entering into God's rest is the result of "sanctification" and that "sanctification" may be connected with priesthood calling in verses 10-13 indicate that priesthood was to be the entitlement of all righteous males. But since the call to righteousness is to females (who presumably in Smith's view do not receive priesthood) as well as males and the promise of entering God's rest is for both genders, perhaps the notions of sanctification and priesthood are to be separated.

and people, supports this idea. Likewise the story about Melchizedek which speaks of him as high priest versus his people may hint that the calling was not democratic (vv. 14-19). Alma 13:4, which says that some on account of their lack of spirituality did not receive priesthood and adds that "if it had not been for this, they might have had as great privilege as their brethren," may indicate that all righteous males can receive the priesthood calling. But the modal phrasing "*might* have had as great privilege" makes me shrink somewhat from this conclusion. If it had read "they *would* have had as great privilege" I would be certain that it included all righteous males.

Two additional points need to be considered before discussing the third theological difficulty in Hebrews: (1) the manner of being called to priesthood and (2) the typological significance of this call. Alma 13 says that people are "called and prepared" for the priesthood "from the foundation of the world according to the foreknowledge of God, on account of their exceeding faith and good works" (v. 3). That is, before people were born, the deity's omniscience allowed him to perceive what the faith and acts of individuals would be before these individuals actually existed in mortality. Those whom he foresaw to be faithful—or a select number of these—he designated to become priests in their mortal lives.[60] This faith and these good works are therefore not, as contemporary Mormon theology might suggest, things done in a premortal existence. They are acts in mortality, which God previewed. The mortal context of these good works are indicated by the context of 13:10-12.

How is this priesthood calling through foreknowledge to be conceived? Contemporary Mormon theology might suggest it was some sort of actual ordination performed in the preexistence on preexistent spirit beings. Alma 13 is not so clear about this. Although it does speak of *people* "being called and prepared from the foundation of the world" (v. 3), it elsewhere speaks of the *priesthood* or "holy calling" only being "prepared" at that time (vv. 3b, 5, 7). This may indicate that this was more a plan than a rite. This projected calling would then be complemented or actualized by some ordination in life. The last half of verse 3 may hint at such bifurcation when it says that faithful people "being left to choose good or evil ... having chosen good ... are called [note the present tense referring apparently to the present mortal situation] with a holy calling ... which was prepared [here the past tense refers to what happened at the "foundation of the world"] with, and according to, a preparatory redemption for such."

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60. Though this text is not hinted at by Alma, this sort of idea is found in Jeremiah 1:5 (cf. Isa. 49:1, 5).

The two parts of priesthood bestowal—preparation and actualization—might be comprehended in the term "ordain" which heads verse 3. But the language applying to the two different phases does not seem to be consistent in the chapter.[61] An observation arising from the evidence just reviewed is that this passage on priesthood in Alma may not be evidence of a premortal existence for humans. It may be that in 1829 Smith did not yet have a fully developed view of the notion.[62]

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61. It is hard to figure out in other verses whether foundational and mortal contexts are differentiated from one another. This same bifurcation in priesthood bestowal is seen perhaps also in verse 8: it begins by reference to general ordination and then speaks of a holy calling (the foundational element?) and being "ordained with a holy ordinance, and taking upon them the high priesthood of the holy order" (the actualization?). The verse then uses the two terms in summary, "which calling, and ordinance, and high priesthood, is without beginning or end." Other verses start to make sense along these lines: verse 6 speaks of people "being called by this holy calling [the foundational situation?] and ordained unto the high priesthood of the holy order of God [the mortal situation?]." Other occasions of the term "ordain" seem to connote both the call and actual ordination, sometimes with focus on the mortal acquisition of this office (cf. vv. 1, 2, 10). The noun "ordinance" seems to have reference to the mortal acquisition (v. 8) but may be a more comprehensive term (v. 16). For a different discussion, see Toscano 1989, 10-13.

62. Apropos of this matter, in his revision of the first chapters of Genesis (found in Moses 2-3), begun relatively soon after his completion of the Book of Mormon, Smith interprets the first part of the creation story in Genesis (1:1-2:4a//Moses 2:1-3:4a) as referring to a *physical creation of inanimate forms* and a *spiritual creation of life forms* including humans. Though Jesus existed here at the beginning of creation (cf. Moses 2:1, 26), humans were not created spiritually until the "sixth day" of creation after inanimate forms were created (cf. Moses 3:5, 7 vis-à-vis 2:26-31). The *physical creation of life forms* in this story comes in the second part of the creation story (Moses 2:5-25//Gen. 2:4b-25). Smith's conception about when humans were spiritually created changed between the revision of Genesis 1-2 and the composition of the Book of Abraham (which is also a revision of the biblical text). In Abraham the first part of the Creation consists of the *physical creation of inanimate forms* and the *physical preparation for animate forms* (Abr. 4:1-5:7); the second part of the creation story consists of the *physical creation of life forms* (Abr. 5:7-21). Where is the spiritual creation of humans? It is pushed back to Abraham 3, before any work on the earth had begun.

The logical sense of this development, by the way, shows that the creation stories in the JSR (Moses) and Abraham are not ancient works but creations of Smith. It is hard to explain the differences in the two creation stories (as well as their contacts with the King James Version of Genesis) on the view that they are ancient texts. Other evidence for the nineteenth-century provenance of the Book of Abraham is found in its reflection of Smith's 1836 Hebrew (not Egyptian) learning in chapter 4 (cf. Abr. 4:1 *'elohim* as a plural form [Sexias 1834, 85]; 4:2 "empty and desolate" [Sexias, 78]; "brooding" [Sexias, 31]; 4:4 "caused it to be divided" [Sexias, 39; cf. pp. 25, 28]; 4:6 "expanse" [Sexias, 21, 32]; see also Zucker 1968; Walton 1981). Smith is supplementing his basic use of the KJV with incidental reference to the Hebrew text. Other evidence for the lateness of Abraham is the awkwardly conserved phrase from the KJV in Abraham 5:21 (see Section 1, above) and the distribution of the terms "man" vs. "Adam" which follows the KJV distribution, which in turn follows the Septuagint's distribution, but which differs from the Hebrew

Despite the difficulty in sorting out the details of the description, the verses do speak of a pre-creational preparatory "calling" or assignment to priesthood. In this a typological connection with Jesus and his redemption is made. Alma 13:2 says that "priests were ordained after the order of his Son, in a manner that thereby the people might know in what manner to look forward to his Son for redemption." Verse 16 says "these ordinances were given after this manner, that thereby the people might look forward on the Son of God, it being a type of his order ... that they might look forward to him for a remission of their sins, that they might enter into the rest of the Lord." Though this follows the verse describing payment of tithes to Melchizedek, it does not refer to the typological significance of offerings but to the calling to priesthood. A reflection of this typological concern outside Alma 13 is found in Helaman 8:18, which says that "many before the days of Abraham ... were called by the order of God, yea, even after the order of his Son. And this that it should be shown unto the people, a great many thousand years before his coming, that even redemption should come unto them."

The typology intended by the passage may have involved the following. Regular human high priests on the basis of God's foreknowledge of their righteousness were prepared, or more specifically their calling was prepared, "before the foundation of the world" (Alma 13:3, 5, 7), just as the plan of salvation or redemption had been planned and prepared "before the foundation of the world" (12:25, 30; 13:5; cf. more broadly vv. 18-33). Each individual who takes up his prepared commission to the priesthood acts in a way similar to Christ who will come and fulfill his redemptory responsibilities.[63]

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text.

These creation chapters fit into the larger study being undertaken here in that they show how Smith responded to textual problems in the Bible. The two parts of the Genesis creation story (1:1-2:4a and 2:4b-25) are, according to critical scholarship, two discrete creation stories deriving from two different traditions or authorial sources. An ancient editor placed them together. The differences between the two stories generated questions (e.g., just when was man created? before the animals or after the animals?) which led Smith to solve the contradictions in the way outlined above. He read them sequentially and thus saw two stages of creation being represented. Reading them sequentially meant implicitly that humans were created physically on the seventh day, the day on which the first story ends (cf. the chronological flow in Gen. 1:26-31; 2:2, 7; and parallels, Moses 2:26-31; 3:2, 5-7, and Abr. 4:26-31; 5:2, 5-7). This notion is confirmed by D&C 77:12. For a good critical study of Smith's solutions, see Hutchinson 1988. For biblical scholarship's critical view about the composition of the Genesis chapters, see Westermann 1984, 73-278.

63. It is possible that the typology also consists in the function of human priesthood bearers in teaching the people to repent and prepare for Christ's redemption (cf. 13:1, 17-18). Verse 6 talks of people being ordained "to teach [God's] commandments unto the

Note in particular the connection of the redemption of Jesus with priesthood ordination in Alma 13:2, 3 and Helaman 8:18. Another dimension of this typology is suggested by the parallel between the plan of redemption which is made known by "faith" and "holy works" (Alma 12:30) and the acquisition of priesthood which comes by "faith and good works" (13:3). Other aspects of the priesthood typology may be exhibited in calling Melchizedek a "Prince of Peace" rather than "King of peace" as in Hebrews and in applying the statement about a lack of "beginning of days" in Hebrews 7:3 to Jesus in Alma 13:9. (See Section 1, above.)

One thing to note here is that Alma 12-13 share an interest in typology with Hebrews. Hebrews uses the earthly temple cult to illustrate the expiatory work of Jesus and talks of the earthly service being "the example and shadow of heavenly things" (8:5). The cultic law was a "shadow of good things to come" (10:1).[64] The use of the Melchizedek material for Hebrews, moreover, was a matter of establishing a similitude (7:15). The typology in Alma 12-13 is different from that in Hebrews, but these typologies need not be identical to argue that Hebrews spurred Smith to develop notions of typology in Alma 12-13.[65] That a typological concern is found in both works adds another thread to the rope of similarities which binds Hebrews and Alma 12-13 together.

The connection of priesthood with Jesus' redemption brings us finally to the third theological problem in Hebrews: designating Christ's priesthood as being after the order of Melchizedek. It would be theologically less problematic if the reverse were found— Melchizedek's priesthood should be after the order of Jesus—and this is exactly the switch Alma 13 makes. It says that "Melchizedek, having exercised mighty faith ... received the office of the high priesthood according to the holy order of God" (Alma 13:18). This "holy order of God" (also v. 6), sometimes called simply the "holy order" (vv. 8, 10,

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children of men, that they also might enter into his rest." This forms a link to 12:34, which more fully says that the person who does not harden his heart "shall have claim on mercy through mine Only Begotten Son, unto a remission of his sins; and these shall enter into my rest." If so, this complements the other typological function just noted; it does not contradict it.

64. Cf. also Heb. 9:9. For a detailed discussion of the temple/tabernacle typology in Hebrews, see Koester 1989, 152-83; cf. Attridge 1989, 222-24; Barrett 1956, 383-93.

65. The scriptural and traditional precedents that lie behind each element of the typology still need to be examined. For example, New Testament tradition sees aspects of the "redemption" as existing "before foundation of the world" (cf. Matt. 25:34; John 17:24, etc.). The New Testament also sees leaders being called "before the foundation of the world" (Eph. 1:4) and 1 Peter 1:2 talks of election "according to the foreknowledge of God" (cf. also Jer. 1:5; Isa. 49:1, 5).

11), is defined more fully at the beginning of the discussion as "the order of the/his [God's] Son" (vv. 1, 2, 7, 9) or "his [the Son's] order" (v. 16). It is said that God ordained priests after "his [God's] order, which was after the order of his Son" (v. 1).

It seems that the term "order" in these cases is used more technically than the term in Hebrews or Psalm 110:4, to indicate a distinct class or category. This is particularly clear in verse 7 where the term is used as a simple noun and not with prepositional force: "which order was from the foundation of the world." The Hebrew term *ᶜal-dibrati* in Psalm 110:4, in contrast, means something close to "like; similar to."[66] The paraphrase in Hebrews 7:15—"after the similitude of Melchizedek," *kata ten homoioteta Melchisedek*—indicates that Hebrews understood it in a nontechnical sense. Smith therefore transformed the meaning of the text somewhat: "order" does not signify simple analogy, but category, class, even rank.[67]

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66. Cf. the prepositional usages in Ecclesiastes 3:18; 7:14; and possibly 8:2 (contrast the use as a noun meaning "claim, suit" in Job 5:8). Cf. the prepositional usage in biblical Aramaic, Dan. 2:30; 4:14. Many interpretations have been offered about the meaning of the phrase in Ps. 110:4 (see Kobelski 1981, 118; Horton 1976, 52n1; Delcor 1971, 121; Fitzmyer 1974a, 225-26; Kraus 1989, 351). One speculative yet contextually reasonable explanation is offered here. One is struck by the context of Ecclesiastes 8:2-3, which contain roots of two other words found in Psalm 110:4 besides the phrase *ᶜal-dibrat(i)*. Those roots are *çbᶜ*, having to do with swearing an oath, and *mlk*, "king." Ecclesiastes 8:2-3 could be construed as: "Observe the command of the king, (*['et?]-pi-melek çemor*) but do not be hasty in the utterance of an oath by God (*weᶜal dibrat çebuᶜat 'elohim 'al tibbahel*)." The linkage of these almost redundant terms *dibrat-* and *çebuᶜat-* in this understanding of the verse indicates that they could be understood as something of a "word pair" which could be "broken up" in poetic parallelism. This is what could be going on in Psalm 110:4. In that case, *dibrati* could be understood as a concrete noun meaning something like "oath" or "utterance" and the *-i* suffix could be taken as a first person suffix pronoun referring to God. The verse would translate this way:

> *niçbaᶜ yhwh welo' yinnaHem*
> *'atta-kohen leᶜolam*
> *ᶜal-dibrati malki-cedeq*
>
> Yhwh has sworn and will not recant:
> "You are a priest forever,
> By my utterance (you are a) Melchizedek."

Here the ideal king or Davidic dynasty is designated a Melchizedek by metaphor rather than by simile. Or perhaps the reference to Melchizedek should be taken as a simple vocative, "You are a priest forever, by my utterance, O Melchizedek," using the name of the early king of Salem as a designation for the king or royal house. The former solution is preferable because it forms a nice parallel with *kohen*, "priest." (Cf. the NJPS on the last phrase: "a rightful king by My decree.")

67. The matter of priesthood "order" is concentrated in Alma 13, but the notion appears elsewhere in the Book of Mormon and even in chapters written before Alma 12-13. The

It would be reductionist to characterize connections between Alma 12-13 and Hebrews as mere exegetical responses—certainly other factors helped move Smith to compose the text in this case. But the problems in Hebrews do seem to have guided the formulation of Alma 12-13 to some degree, and thus these chapters constitute something of an exegetical response to Hebrews. Again, the nature of this

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following gives something of a lexical entry summarizing the term. Meaning "A" pertains to priesthood and relates to the issues of Alma 13. Meaning "B" is to be compared to the usage in Alma 13 too, though in a different context. Meanings "C" and "D" have a different orientation but may color the understanding of "order" in usages A and B.

A1: In a few cases "order" refers clearly to priesthood. Accompanying phraseology is similar to that in Hebrews: "Alma ... confined himself wholly to the high priesthood of the holy order of God" (Alma 4:20); "Alma [was] the high priest according to the holy order of God" (5 heading); people were "ordained by the holy order of God" (49:30); "many ... were called by the order of God; yea, even after the order of his Son" (Hel. 8:18); "by faith ... they of old were called after the holy order of God" (Ether 12:10); "Jacob [was] called of God and ordained after the manner of his holy order" (2 Ne. 6:2).

A2: Priesthood order is also reflected in teaching contexts: Alma teaches "according to the holy order of God, by which he had been called" (Alma 8:4); he is "called to speak after this manner, according to the holy order of God, which is in Christ Jesus" (5:44); he declared the word of God "according to ... the holy order by which he was called" (6:8); he says "this is the order after which I am called, to preach unto my beloved brethren" (5:49). Cf. 49:30. These passages relate to the observation above that the main purpose of priests in the Book of Mormon was to teach. There might also be here a connection with the notion of church regulation in these cases (see "C," below).

A3: Alma ordains priesthood leaders "by laying on his hands according to the order of God, to preside and watch over the church" (6:1). Cf. 49:30. This seems to refer to priesthood order but could have something to do with the "order of the church" (see "B" below) or with the regulation of "laying on of hands" (cf. "C").

B: "Order" appears in a different sense when it is used for the establishment of the "order of the church," meaning its organization (6:4; 8:1). This may have to do with ordaining priests and other leaders (cf. 6:1), but it refers to church structure rather than priesthood type. This may cast light on the concrete use of "order" with respect to priesthood; i.e., a priesthood order is an element in the larger structure of the church. Elements of meaning "C" may be implicit in these passages. "Order" in the cases here is probably not to be construed as simple "regularity" or "peace" (as in 46:38).

C: "Order" appears in the sense of church "regulation" or "commandments" when people are said to "walk after the holy order of God" (5:54; 7:22). This can be compared with meaning "B."

D: "Order" is used, in ways similar to the foregoing, to refer to an illicit clerical class or religious tradition:

D1: The clerical class is found where Amlici was "after the order of the man that slew Gideon" (2:1); an accusing judge is "after the order and faith of Nehor, who slew Gideon" (14:16; this may belong to D2).

D2: The religious tradition is found in the case where Amalekites, Amulonites, and their synagogues were "after the order of the Nehors" (21:4b; 24:28, 29 [here "Nehor" instead of "Nehors"]).

(Other instances of "order" lie or appear to lie outside this sorting out of occurrences pertaining to priesthood and church order.)

response reflects a tendency to ground religious or doctrinal perspectives in primordial events and revelations and to make their scope more universal. For example, rather than denominating and developing a concept of priesthood by a mortal, the text connects the name and origin of priesthood to the beginning of geological history and with the formulation of the plan of salvation at that time. It tends toward universalism by giving priesthood more general duties, teaching responsibilities in particular, not just cultic and expiatory duties. This allows it to become the endowment of more than a few persons. Priesthood is also universalized by making it a means of typifying Jesus and his redemption. Moreover, by making priesthood typological and primordializing it, these chapters contribute to the larger goal of the Book of Mormon: to "prove" that Jesus is the Christ. The existence of priests becomes a revelation of Jesus.

4. The Catalogue of the Faithful

Perhaps the most famous chapter in Hebrews is chapter 11. It begins with a definition of faith and goes on to give a long catalogue of past faithful—including Enoch, Abraham, and Moses—and examples of their faith. Alma 13:10-12 appear to be a reflex of this chapter. The text reads: "Now, as I said concerning the holy order, or this high priesthood, there were many which were ordained and became high priests of God. And it was on account of the exceeding faith and repentance, and their righteousness before God, they choosing to repent and work righteousness rather than to perish—therefore they were called after this holy order, and were sanctified, and their garments were washed white through the blood of the Lamb. Now they, after being sanctified by the Holy Ghost, having their garments made white, being pure and spotless before God, could not look upon sin save it were with abhorrence. And there were many, an exceeding great many, which were made pure and entered into the rest of the Lord their God." These verses have a narrative-like character and speak in summary of past exemplary ancients. This parallels roughly the narrative-like genre of Hebrews 11 which speaks of past exemplary ancients. That these verses constitute a parallel to Hebrews 11 is shown also in the way faith is discussed. Faith is presented in an *instrumental* fashion in Alma; it was "*on account of* the exceeding faith and repentance" that they were called after the holy order. The instrumentality of faith is one of the memorable motifs of Hebrews 11, being mentioned about twenty times.

The noteworthy development in Alma 13:10-12 compared to Hebrews 11 is the connection of priesthood and faith. In Hebrews these two matters are separate. The issue of priesthood does not occur any-

where in Hebrews 11. When priesthood is discussed in Hebrews, it is spoken of in connection with Jesus, Melchizedek, and the Aaronide priests, not the exemplars of faith. What Alma 13:10-12 do is to bring the themes of faith and priesthood—two of the main themes of Hebrews—into play with one another, suggesting that the great ancients—at least the males[68]—listed in that chapter also had priesthood.

This understanding is confirmed by another passage from the Book of Mormon, Ether 12:4-32, which certainly depends on Hebrews 11 (see the Appendix). This passage refers to New World personages and in passing to Old World faithful (Ether 12:10), with this summary: "Behold, it was by faith that they of old were called after the holy order of God." Note the similarity to Alma 13:10-11: "there were many who were ordained and became high priests ... *on account of* the exceeding *faith* ... *they were called after his holy order.*" The composition of Ether 12 chronologically follows that of Alma 13 and thus presumes the thought of the Alma chapter. Ether 12 can be seen as bringing out the implications of the earlier thought of Alma 13:10-12 and supports the notion that this thought has its roots in Hebrews 11.

By combining the essence of Hebrews 11 with priesthood issues Joseph Smith further expanded the scope of those who held priesthood office in antiquity. Further Hebrews 11 can be considered a major factor in the development of the notion that priesthood calling was determined by God's foreknowledge of faith which individuals would show in mortality.

5. Death then Judgment

Another item shows how broadly Hebrews served as inspiration in the composition of Alma 12-13. In Hebrews's argument about Christ's priesthood and unique expiatory act, the author notes that Jesus did not need to "offer himself often, as the high priest entereth into the holy place every year with the blood of others [of other animals, on the annual Day of Atonement ceremony]" (Heb. 9:25). If he did need to offer himself repeatedly he would need to "have suffered" many times "since the foundation of the world." "But now," the author says, "once in the end of the world hath he appeared to put away sin by the sacrifice of himself" (v. 26). He concludes this part of his argument with an analogy drawn from the situation of mortality generally: "And as it is appointed unto men once to die, but after this the judgment, so Christ was once offered to bear the sins of many ..." (vv. 27-28).

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68. Hebrews 11 mentions some female figures.

Alma 12 reflects this same language but in an entirely different context. Alma speculates that if Adam and Eve had partaken of the Tree of Life in the Garden of Eden, they would have lived forever and "been forever miserable, having no preparatory state; and thus the plan of redemption would have been frustrated" (v. 26). But instead "it was *appointed* unto man [sic] that they must *die*; and *after* death, they must come to *judgment*, even that same judgment of which we have spoken, which is the end" (v. 27). Notice the sequence of words, "appointed," "men," "die," "after," and "judgment," which parallels the Hebrews passage. The speech continues, telling how after the Fall the plan of redemption was communicated by angels to humans. This continuation recapitulates some of the language found in the verses in Hebrews: "And after God had appointed that these things should come unto man ..." (v. 28). Thus, although the matter of a singular death does not appear in Alma 12:27-28, the discussion belongs to the same general conceptual area and may have stimulated in some way the discussion of the first and second deaths in Alma 12-13.[69]

Excursus 1: Miscellaneous Contacts Between Alma 12-13 and Hebrews

Other possible contacts between Alma 12-13 and Hebrews are summarized here. It is hard to judge the relation of these motifs in the two books, but there are some elements appearing in Alma 12-13 listed below which seem to be generated from attention to Hebrews (A., elements (a) and (b); B.; and perhaps C. and D.) and therefore offer further evidence that Alma 12-13 and Hebrews have a genetic relationship. The relationship of the other elements in the two texts is less "tight" and may be simply coincidental.

A. Each text has concluding exhortations (Alma 13:21-30 and Hebrews 13). In these exhortations certain similar ideas are mentioned: (a) a call to offer prayer or praise "continually" (Alma 13:28; Heb. 13:15); (b) a call to submission (Alma 13:28; Heb. 13:17). These exhortations also include the mention of: (c) angels (Alma 13:22, 24, 25, 26; Heb. 13:2) and (d) a hope of things to come (Alma 13:24-27; Heb. 13:14). The exhortative conclusion of Hebrews may have had some general influence on Alma 12-13.

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69. In the New Testament the idea of a second death occurs only in the book of Revelation, though it exists in the literature of early and Rabbinic Judaism (e.g., Philo, *De Praemiis et Poenis*, 70-71; Fragmentary Targum Deut 33:6; Targum Jonathan Jer 51:39). See Ford 1975, 350, 393-94. The phrase is not in the Hebrew Bible. This indicates that the idea is probably a development in the late Second Temple period and is thus another anachronism in the Book of Mormon.

B. Both books use the phrase "from the foundation of the world" (Heb. 4:3; 9:26; Alma 12:25, 30; 13:3, 5, 7). Though the phrase occurs elsewhere in the New Testament, the connection of this phrase with the development of priesthood issues suggests that the occurrence of the phrase in Hebrews may have stimulated to some extent its use in Alma 12-13.

C. Both speak of "just men" (Heb. 12:23; Alma 13:26).

D. Zeezrom was convinced that Alma and Amulek "knew the thoughts and intents of his heart" (Alma 12:7). Similar phraseology is found in Hebrews 4:12 which says that the word of God is a "discerner of the thoughts and intents of the heart." Part of the phrase occurs in Mosiah 5:13 and may indicate that the phrase was part of Joseph Smith's scriptural vocabulary generally and may not have been drawn directly from Hebrews.[70] The phrase "intents and thoughts of the heart" appears in the KJV only in Hebrews.[71]

E. Attention to angels is found more broadly (cf. A., (c)). Apart from the passages from the final exhortation, compare Alma 12:29 and Hebrews 1:4-7, 13; 2:2, 5, 7, 9, 16; 12:22. The treatment of angels is quite different in the two books. A similarity of treatment might be found in the notion that angels are means of revealing God's word (Alma 12:29; 13:22-25; Heb. 2:2). Could there be any connection between the conception presented in Alma of angels delivering commandments or announcing Jesus' coming before the time of Jesus (which is the historical point of view of that book) and the notion in Hebrews 2:2 that angels were the ones who spoke the law which contrasts with the later revelation of Jesus himself (cf. Heb. 1:1 and chap. 2 passim)?

F. Both books speak of "good works" (Heb. 10:24; Alma 13:3; cf. Heb. 6:1; 9:14; Alma 12:8, 12, 14, 30).

G. Finally, both share motifs of strange land and wandering (Heb. 11:9, 37-38; Alma 13:23).

Excursus 2: Joseph Smith Revision, Genesis 14

Joseph Smith's Revision (JSR) of Genesis 14, the chapter from the Old Testament which speaks about Melchizedek, depends in part on Hebrews and reflects further Smith's rethinking of the Bible. The discussion here cannot be exhaustive, but some of the issues involved can be noted. One point here is that the JSR does not contain ancient material (except for its basis in Genesis) but depends on Hebrews and

70. See also Alma 18:32; cf. 21:6.

71. Attridge 1989, 134-36 discusses the Greek philosophical background out of which Hebrews 4:12-13 grew.

hence postdates it.[72] JSR Genesis 14 builds on some of the ideas established in Alma 12-13. Work on the JSR began in the summer of 1830, not long after completion of the Book of Mormon in 1829. Work on Genesis 14 was undertaken between 1 February and 8 March 1831 after Smith had moved to Kirtland, Ohio.[73] In many cases the JSR gives solutions different from those in Alma 12-13. Some of these reveal influence of ideas developed between the time of completion of the Book of Mormon and the revision of Genesis and thus exhibit the JSR's nineteenth-century provenance.[74]

A. Melchizedek's genealogy: The JSR responds to the issue of Melchizedek's genealogy in Hebrews 7:3 in a way slightly different from Alma 13. Alma 13:7-8 say that the order of the priesthood was "without beginning of days or end of years." To refer this directly to priesthood meant that despite the principle of textual conservation, the phrase "without father, without mother" could not be retained. JSR Genesis 14 reorients the description slightly so as to be able to retain the essence of this element. It says that the order of the priesthood "came, not by man, nor the will of man; neither by father nor mother; neither by beginning of days nor end of years; but of God" (JSR Gen. 14:28). This particular orientation toward the Melchizedek material in Hebrews allowed Smith to adduce the notion that priesthood "was delivered unto men by the calling of his [God's] own voice" (v. 29).[75]

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72. For this view see Hutchinson 1985; 1988; and see n62, above.

73. See the discussion in Matthews 1975, 64-67.

74. I have checked the JSR Gen. 14:25-40 against Old Testament Manuscript #2 (cf. Matthews 1975, 62-81). The RLDS edition (Joseph Smith 1944) is a faithful rendition of this material, and so I cite from that edition.

75. It might be thought that the expression in the JSR that priesthood "came not by man, nor the will of man; neither by father nor mother" has a parallel in the Tell el-Amarna correspondence of the fourteenth century B.C.E. Abdi-Heba was installed in his position of ruler of Jerusalem (the same city which Melchizedek might have ruled) about which he says in a letter to the Egyptian royal court: "Look, as for me, neither my father nor my mother set me in this place; the strong arm of the king [of Egypt] made me enter the house of my father!" (*amur anaku la abiya u la ummiya çaknani ina açri anne zuruH [=zrᶜ] sarri dannu uçeribanni ana bit abiya;* #286: 9-13; cf. #287: 25-28, #288: 13-15; on the translation, see CAD E 269b; Z 167; Pritchard 1969, 487-88; Knudtzon 1915, 1:860-69). It is important to recognize the differences here: Abdi-Heba was not a king like Melchizedek; the passage does not deal with priesthood; the context of Abdi-Heba's expression is one of subordination and petition; and Abdi-Heba's office ultimately did come from man—the Egyptian king. Skinner 1930, 270; Fitzmyer 1974a, 236n48, reject a connection between the Amarna expressions and Hebrews 7:3; cf. also Horton 1976, 54-60.

Another passage, in Philo, *De Congressu* 99, might be thought to echo the sentiment of JSR in this general matter when it says that Melchizedek was a self-instructed (*automathes*) and self-taught (*autodidaktos*) priest. While one might think that self-teaching equals divine (not human) calling, this is not what the text says. Philo is making a philosophical observation, which is based on the silence of the biblical text

B. God's oath: The statement about priesthood coming by God leads to a description of Enoch receiving priesthood by oath (JSR Gen. 14:30). The text says: "For God having sworn unto Enoch and unto his seed with an oath by himself; that every one being ordained after this order and calling should have power, by faith, to break mountains. ..." The oath here reflects Psalm 110:4 (which is cited in Heb. 7:21; cf. 5:6, 10: 6:20; 7:11, 15, 17) and the argument in Hebrews that the higher priesthood is signalled by an accompanying oath (7:20, 21, 28). The JSR phrase "with an oath by himself" also reflects Hebrews 6:13 which itself refers to Genesis 22:16. (For other cases of oath in the two works, see Heb. 6:16-17; JSR Gen. 14:35; and compare the matter of God swearing in Ps. 95 cited by Heb. 3:11 and chaps. 3-4 passim.)

C. Priesthood order: Priesthood order in JSR Genesis 14 is denominated in a way similar to that in Alma 12-13 and in contrast to the "problematic" denomination in Hebrews. But there are some interesting differences. The JSR text calls the priesthood "the order of the covenant which God made with Enoch" (v. 27). This designation, however, is not left as the prime designation. The text, almost as a gloss, adds: "it being after the order of the Son of God" (v. 28; cf. vv.

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about how Melchizedek fits into tradition.

Another parallel which can be brought into the discussion is Jubilees 13:25-27, which speaks of the payment of the tithe after the battle. It says that the tithe is to be given to priests "(as) an ordinance forever ... And there is no limit of days for this law because he ordained it for eternal generations" (Wintermute's translation in Charlesworth 1985). This resonates with statements in Hebrews, Alma, and JSR Genesis 14 about something in connection with the Melchizedek story having no "beginning of days or end of years/life" (see Welch 1990, 248, 267n25). There is a gap in the manuscripts of Jubilees which makes the context here difficult, and interpretations cannot be certain. But it should be noted that it is clearly the law of the tithe, not people or priesthood, which has no limit. More particularly, the tithe here (as in the Priestly tradition of the Pentateuch) is a prebend for the priests. Prebends for priests in this Pentateuchal tradition are often called *Hoq ᶜolam* (*ledorotekem*), "a perpetual due (throughout your generations)" (Ex. 29:28; Lev. 6:11 [English 6:18]; 7:34; 10:15; 24:9; Num. 18:8, 11, 19); *Huqqat ᶜolam ledorotam*, "eternal due throughout their generations," is used for priestly prebends too (Lev. 7:36). The terms *Hoq ᶜolam* and *Huqqat ᶜolam* (sometimes with accompanying *ledorotekem/ledorotam*) also are found in the sense of "perpetual statute" regarding various cultic rules (Ex. 12:14, 17; 27:21; 28:43; Ex. 30:21; Lev. 3:17; 6:15 [English 6:22]; 10:9; 16:29, 31, 34; 17:7; 23:14, 21, 31, 41; 24:3; Num. 10:8; 15:15; 19:10, 21; Ezek. 46:14; cf. the non-cultic use in Jer. 5:22). In one case *Huqqat ᶜolam ledorotekem* is found in the midst of rules surrounding the Levites, the tithe they receive, and their cultic duties (Num. 18:23). It seems that this Priestly language is the generator of Jubilees's prescription. Note Jubilees says the tithe is "an ordinance forever" (=*Hoq/Huqqat ᶜolam*) and that it was ordained "for eternal generations" (= approximately *ledorotekem/ledorotam*). The statement that "there is no limit of days" for the law of tithing seems to grow out of this cultic language and context, not out of a tradition about Melchizedek. (The Priestly terminology discused here, by the way, appears in connection with the priesthood in Ex. 29:9; 40:15; and Num. 25:13.)

32-33). By speaking of Enoch rather than Melchizedek, the JSR implies that any exemplary ancient may be used as a means of designation. In this way it can be seen as expanding the conceptualization of Hebrews despite the particularist way it is represented. The JSR, like Alma 13, also makes it clear that the priesthood is ultimately to be connected with Jesus, not any particular mortal.

D. Melchizedek's name: JSR Genesis 14 exhibits the same approach to Melchizedek's title and name as did Alma 13, basing it on the biography of the individual not linguistic interpretation. The simple linguistic operation in Hebrews 7 is a primary mode of explication. This is a sign that the order of dependence is JSR Genesis 14 on Hebrews.

Much like Alma 13, JSR Genesis 14 uses the elements given in the linguistic explication of Melchizedek's name in Hebrews to build a biography of Melchizedek. The interpretation of his name as "king of righteousness" in Hebrews became the basis of speaking about Melchizedek's establishing righteousness in JSR Genesis 14:33-34, 36. The phrase "wrought righteousness" in these verses was perhaps sparked by the same phrase in Hebrews 11:33 (in another context). Smith's interpretation of Melchizedek's title as "king of peace" in Hebrews became the basis of speaking about the priest's establishing peace. From this situation the JSR gives Melchizedek a new title: "Prince of Peace," which is apparently influenced by Isaiah 9:6 (so also Alma 13:18). The JSR also calls him the "king of heaven ... in other words, the King of Peace" (JSR Gen. 14:36). The title "king of heaven" was derived from his people's righteousness such that they "obtained heaven" (JSR Gen. 14:34). The notion here seems to be that obtaining heaven is in essence achieving a state of peace; hence the king in such a situation can be called a "king of peace." The mention of the title "King of peace" in addition to "Prince of peace" is an example of textual conservation. Note that Alma 13:18 mentioned only "prince of peace" not "King of peace." The JSR brings the two titles together in its text.

The midrash here about Melchizedek's life goes in a slightly different direction than that in Alma 13. There is no mention of the wickedness of the people in the JSR, only their righteousness. And their righteousness is such that they "obtained heaven, and sought for the city of Enoch which God had before taken ..." (JSR Gen. 14:34). This different direction is explained in part by the fact that Smith's conceptions about Enoch developed after completion of the Book of Mormon and during his revision of the first chapters of Genesis where Enoch is briefly mentioned.[76]

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76. Cf. Gen. 5:19-24; see the expansive midrash on this material in JSR Gen. 6:21-7:79 ▪

E. Translation: Another link between JSR Genesis 14 and Hebrews, which relates the foregoing matter, is in the notion of the "translation" of the righteous found in both works. JSR Genesis 14 says that Melchizedek was "ordained a high priest after the order of the covenant which God made with Enoch" (v. 27). The text then digresses to say that God had sworn to "Enoch and his seed ... that every one being ordained after this order and calling should have power by faith" (vv. 30-31). Those who had this faith and partook of this "order of God, were translated and taken up into heaven" (v. 32). The text then turns back to Melchizedek saying that he had obtained this order, that his people wrought righteousness, and that they "obtained heaven, and sought for the city of Enoch which God had before taken ..." (v. 34). In other words, Melchizedek and his people were translated, or came close to it.

How does the JSR come by this notion? Hebrews speaks of "entering into God's rest," a notion that could have been transformed into that of translation. Compare Alma 13:12 which says that many were sanctified, made pure, and entered into the rest of God. Also, the notice about Enoch's translation in Hebrews 11:5, the only place in the entire Bible which mentions this with the term "translation,"[77] probably influenced the linking of Enoch and Melchizedek in JSR Genesis 14. JSR Genesis 14 here blends the matters of Melchizedek's righteousness and Enoch's translation, which are separately treated in Hebrews. Thus we see again a tendency toward generalization and universalization.[78]

F. Stopping the mouths of lions: JSR Genesis 14 uses other material from the catalogue of the faithful in Hebrews 11 to describe the figure Melchizedek. At the end of Hebrews 11 the blessings and might of faithful characters are summarized: "through faith [they] subdued kingdoms, wrought righteousness, obtained promises, stopped the mouths of lions, quenched the violence of fire, escaped

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Moses 6:21-8:2. The Book of Mormon does not mention Enoch at all.

77. "Translation" in Colossians 1:13 has a different sense.

78. 11QMelch, as I noted, talks of a heavenly Melchizedek, indeed one who "supervises" and aids the righteous. One might construe this as a parallel with the notion in the JSR that Melchizedek and his righteous people were perhaps translated. This supposition disappears upon examination of the stark differences in conceptions. One might think that the tradition in 2 Enoch 71-72 about the hiding of young Melchizedek in Eden when the flood was about to break out on the earth is a reflection of his being translated (note that in 71:1 Michael or Gabriel is told to go down and "take" Melchizedek and place him in Eden). This seems to be only coincidental: not much else in the story (except for passages that coincide with the Genesis 14 story) is similar to JSR Genesis 14 and, when he is "taken," Melchizedek is a child.

the edge of the sword, out of weakness were made strong, waxed valiant in fight, turned to flight the armies of the aliens" (Heb. 11:33-34). Some of these statements are used to describe Melchizedek in JSR Genesis 14:26 (the similar phrases are underlined): "Now Melchizedek was a man of faith, who wrought righteousness; and when a child he feared God, and *stopped the mouths of lions*, and *quenched the violence of fire*."

Here we find another example of blending together of discrete elements from Hebrews. Indeed this particular matter, like the matter of translation, comes directly from Hebrews 11. It shows a tendency to bring in material from that catalogue of the faithful to expand the biography of Melchizedek.[79]

G. Priesthood and faith: Priesthood and faith are connected in the JSR chapter in a way similar to what we have seen in Alma 13:10-12. Melchizedek, according to JSR Genesis 14:26-27, obtained priesthood by faith. JSR Genesis 14 also develops another view about priesthood and faith. Verses 30-31 give a long list of actions and effects which can be compared to a similar list in Hebrews 11:33-34. But the substance of these two lists is different. Only in one instance are they similar: "turned to flight the armies of the aliens" (Heb. 11:34) and "put at defiance the armies of the nations" (JSR Gen. 14:31). Given JSR Genesis 14's general dependence on Hebrews, some sort of influence might be assumed despite the differences. In Hebrews 11 the acts in the list are performed simply by faith. In JSR Genesis 14, they are performed by faith and priesthood. This particular connection of faith and priesthood is not found in Alma 13.

H. Bishop Melchizedek and the tithe: JSR Genesis 14 turns Melchizedek into a "bishop" of sorts. He is now "the keeper of the storehouse of God" (v. 37). This transformation is not due to any dependence on Hebrews; it reflects the development of Smith's thought and the situation in the church around the beginning of 1831. The Enoch speculations show that Smith's thoughts were turning to matters of church community, sustenance, and the concept of Zion. In February 1831 he received his first revelation that mentioned the "storehouse" of the church (D&C 42; cf. vv. 34, 55).[80] This revelation

79. Welch 1990, 257, makes a passing comparison to the youth of Melchizedek in 2 Enoch 71-72. There is really nothing comparable between the JSR Genesis 14 and this apocryphal work in this regard.

80. For the date of this composite section, see Woodford 1974, 527, 533-34 and his textual analysis; see also Arrington, Fox, and May 1976, 1-40. Sec. 41:9, 4 Feb. 1831, is the first mention of the office of bishop in the D&C (cf. Roberts 1957, 2:366-67). The mention of "bishop" in D&C 20:67 is an addition postdating the 1833 Book of Commandments (cf. Woodford 1974, 1:331, 334). The connection of tithes with a storehouse is found in Mal.

is contemporary with the date of his work on Genesis 14 (see above). According to the revision of Genesis 14, the tithes are now to be given to support the poor. Doctrine and Covenants 42:34 says that the residue of consecration properties "shall be kept in my storehouse, to administer to the poor and the needy" (see all of vv. 30-39). Thus JSR Genesis 14, produced in February-March 1831, corresponds to the Latter-day Saint situation in February 1831, not only in regard to the place where tithes were kept but also to their purpose.

Concluding Observations

The soundness of the conclusion that Alma 12-13 depend on Hebrews is made clearer by considering possible traditional- rationalist[81] explanations.[82] The most reasonable traditional-rationalist solution to evidence offered in this study is to hypothesize the existence of a parent text containing all the phraseology and basic ideas common among Alma 12-13, Ether 12,[83] and Hebrews. The Book of Mormon chapters and Hebrews, in this view, depend on this parent text, and that explains the similarity. This text would have to be more similar to Hebrews than to Alma—a "Proto-Hebrews" text, as it were, rather than a "Proto-Alma" text. This is because it would be difficult to explain how or why the author of Hebrews rejects the sources in a parent text which were similar to Alma and the general and less-problematic formulations of matters in that text and goes to the Old Testament to make similar points but in a particularist and narrow manner. This extreme logical difficulty requires the hypothesis that the parent text was similar to Hebrews in the material parallel between Hebrews and Alma 12-13.

This Proto-Hebrews theory has several difficulties. It requires that a source covering much of Hebrews exist at least 700 years before Hebrews was composed. The text would have to include at least the following: (a) Hebrews 3:7-11, a version of verse 12, plus exposition

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3:10 (cf. outside the context of tithes, Gen. 41:56; Deut. 28:8; etc.).

81. This term refers to one who seeks to establish traditional assumptions about the Book of Mormon but does so through rationalist means (such as one finds current in the publications of FARMS). Not entertained here are arational or irrational solutions.

82. Welch's explanation (1990) of the sources of Alma 13:13-19 provides an inadequate solution to the problem because it does not recognize or explain the parallels between this Alma passage and Hebrews 7:1-4 nor does it recognize and explain the other parallels that exist between Hebrews and Alma 12-13 or Ether 12.

83. Ether 12 needs to be included in the traditional-rationalist judgment since the most logical explanation from that vantage point is that this chapter comes by its material from the same parent text that Alma 12-13 depends on. In the traditional-rationalist view it would be hard to argue that Moroni depends on Hebrews itself.

of this material from Psalm 95 highlighting the matters of heart-hardening, entering into God's rest, "Today" as the time of faithfulness, and provocation; (b) the essence of Hebrews 7:1-4 and a relatively extensive discussion of priesthood; (c) a version of Hebrews 9:27-28; (d) much of Hebrews 11; (e) scattered verses or parts thereof outside Hebrews 11 parallel to Ether 12 (see the Appendix); (f) some of the parallels in Excursus 1; and (g) a messianic typological element. In large part it would be a "prooftext" composition bringing together material from Genesis 14 and Psalm 95 making some points similar to those in Hebrews.

Added to the difficulty of positing a text of this scope 700 years before Hebrews was written is the difficulty of positing this *type* of text in the preexilic (pre-586 B.C.E.) period. Positing such a text presumes that there is something of an authoritative Old Testament canon, which includes Genesis 14 and Psalm 95 and can be excerpted to provide a collection of authoritative statements for some additional extensive exegetical purpose. Certainly many biblical texts existed in the preexilic period, and the Bible itself has instances where later passages interpret earlier passages.[84] But critical study of the biblical canon and the growth of biblical exegesis indicates that the type of text that Proto-Hebrews would have to be would be unlikely in the preexilic period.

This traditional-rationalist explanation of a major source text for Hebrews also conflicts with what critical scholarship has been saying about the biblical and extrabiblical sources of and influences on Hebrews. Scholarship recognizes that Hebrews does not create all of its argument by itself but relies on tradition and perhaps even on some unknown written sources (in addition to the Bible) in some of the places where we have seen the epistle parallel elements in Alma 12-13. But these traditions and sources are in general relatively recent developments for the author of Hebrews, not traditions and sources going back 700 years. Moreover, the traditions and sources found or supposed by scholars for the passages in Hebrews relevant to Alma 12-13 are diverse. They reflect different traditional tendencies within early Judaism as well as Hellenistic influences. They are not likely to be found in one traditional or textual source.[85] Critical scholarly explanations of the background of Hebrews thus create another obstacle to accepting this traditional-rationalist explanation of the parallels between Hebrews and Alma 12-13.

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84. On this point, see Fishbane 1985.

85. One can examine the commentaries and articles on Hebrews listed in the bibliography on this issue.

A further difficulty concerns the purpose of the Proto-Hebrews text. The theory could not be expected to go into detail about the goal of this document, but the nucleus of material to be included suggests the text would have been engaging questions similar to those that the author of Hebrews was answering, questions about priesthood, typology and the/a messiah, and so forth. Just as the form of the text would not fit well into the preexilic period, so the questions presumed to be addressed by Proto-Hebrews would not fit well. On the other hand Hebrews's argument fits perfectly into the questions and concerns of first-century C.E. Christianity in its struggle to make sense of its relationship to the laws of the Hebrew Bible and the practices of early Judaism.

Another difficulty is that Hebrews, when it cites scripture, and this includes passages such as at 3:7-11 and 7:1-2, relies on a Greek translation.[86] We have already seen this in the matter of "provocation." If the author of Hebrews depends on Proto-Hebrews—and this would have to be a Hebrew text—it is difficult to imagine why he would exit this source and turn to a Greek text.

As noted, if there were a Proto-Hebrews text it would be more similar to Hebrews than to Alma. This would mean that what I have argued about Joseph Smith's transformation of Hebrews would have to apply to the high priest Alma. Alma would be the one midrashically developing a biography out of a linguistic interpretation of Melchizedek's name and title; he would be the one inventing the citation of Alma 12:33-35; he would be the one solving the questions about priesthood; and so forth.[87] This means that the general, universal, and primordial contexts of the principles taught there would be largely Alma's making and would constitute creative exegetical development.

One should note at the end of this list of difficulties that JSR Genesis 14 does not help solve the problems presented above, but in fact creates more of them for the traditional-rationalist argument (see Excursus 2). JSR Genesis 14 is hardly the source of the discussion of Melchizedek and other matters parallel between Alma 12-13 and Hebrews. A traditional-rationalist argument which seeks to include JSR Genesis 14 in the mix (and for consistency it should) needs to expand the Proto-Hebrews hypothesis and claim that the Proto-Hebrews text was also the source for JSR Genesis 14. The Proto-Hebrews text would have to be enlarged to

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86. There have been some arguments to the contrary, but it seems clear that the Greek translation is the source of scriptural quotations. See Spicq 1952-53, 1:334-36, 338-39 (and 330-35 generally); Attridge 1989, 23-24 (and the literature there); 1992, 102-103; Hurst 1990, 4, 132; Michel 1966, 75, 182, 256; Moffatt 1924, lxii; Héring 1970, xii, xvi. See also n41 herein.

87. Welch 1990, 239, notes the difficulty of this view about Alma.

include material similar to the parallels between Hebrews and JSR Genesis 14 (see Excursus 2). This requires pushing back the date for Proto-Hebrews even further, far before 600 B.C.E.

These difficulties show that this traditional-rationalist solution to the textual relationship of Hebrews and Alma 12-13 is weak. Indeed this solution seems neither logically nor historically possible. Above all this hypothesis involves inventing the existence of a text to adjust and justify the dating of another text, a circular and highly questionable endeavor. Some bits and pieces of evidence could be brought to bear on these difficulties (some I have noted and in anticipation reacted to in the notes of this paper), but comparative studies always generate some evidence in divergent directions.[88] None of the internal and comparative evidence I have seen comes close to supporting an explanation of authorship other than what I have offered in the body of this study.

A final implication pertaining to authorship needs to be brought out. The evidence I have reviewed indicates that Alma 12-13 were written by Joseph Smith. It goes almost without saying that this conclusion means further that the rest of the Book of Mormon was composed by him. Logical—even theological—consistency indicates that it is unlikely that these chapters would be his composition while others would be ancient.[89] Furthermore, there is evidence for nineteenth-century provenance of other parts of the Book of Mormon.[90] And as I have noted, there is evidence that Smith's other "ancient" compositions are not actually ancient but arise out of his interactions with biblical texts and religious ideas of his period.[91]

As I indicated at the beginning of this paper, my major goal was to go beyond observations about the identity of the work's author. My main purpose has been to describe some of the traits or characteristics

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88. See my comments on the comparative approach in Wright 1987, 5-9, and the bibliography there; see also Wright 1986, and "Analogy," forthcoming.

89. Ostler (1987) offers a hybrid approach. He argues that the Book of Mormon has an ancient core which has been significantly expanded by Joseph Smith. The main criticism of this view is that it is hard to sustain by internal logic. Sometimes propositional revelation (on this see Dulles 1983, 36-52; also Gnuse 1985, 22-44) appears to be accepted; other times it is rejected. It also removes many passages which speak of Jesus and his divine mission, a move which contradicts the self expressed goal of the work in proving that "JESUS is the CHRIST, the ETERNAL GOD" (Title Page).

90. See the literature in n2.

91. Some would argue that statements about the plates by early members of the church are evidence of the antiquity of the work. The mystical and secretive treatment of the plates, especially vis-à-vis the mundane and public treatment of the Egyptian papyri which were the springboard for the Book of Abraham, vitiates the force of this evidence. It seems that the evidence of the text itself, such as we have examined here, must take priority in compositional judgments.

of Joseph Smith's use of Hebrews in Alma 12-13. A summary of these traits is useful here. One should note that any given example of the transformation of biblical text in Alma 12-13 might be subsumed under several of these traits at the same time. The traits themselves tend to blend into one another at points. The purpose of this classification is not to offer a precise typology but to sort out in a rough way the types of operations we see going on in Alma 12-13. Such classification provides a basis for further study.

(1) One trait is *textual conservation,* the retention of elements in the biblical text.[92] This trait is to be found more consistently in the JSR or in the chapters of the Book of Mormon which have patent citations of biblical texts.[93] But Alma 12-13 exhibit enough conservation to show that it was an operative principle for Joseph Smith even in his looser and more expansive reworkings of the biblical text such as in Alma 12-13. The tendency to conserve text can be seen to induce the creative rewriting of biblical text. Smith could not always discard an uncomfortable or superfluous element but felt a need to formulate a new context for it.

(2) Another trait is *solving problems* in the biblical text.[94] The attempt to solve problems is clearer in some cases than others (cf. the matter of Melchizedek's genealogy to the less direct solutions to problems discussed in Section 3, above). Criteria for determining if a change in a text seeks to solve a problem will have to be developed in future studies.

(3) Joseph Smith's rewriting further exhibits what can be called *midrashic transformation* or *expansion* of textual implications.[95] Here elements of the biblical text serve as seeds for the germination of radically different ideas.

(4) The three traits described thus far often include the trait of

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92. Examples: the phrase "one-tenth part of all" in Alma 13:15 from Hebrews 7:2; "without beginning of days" in Alma 13:7 (cf. vv. 8, 9; and cf. v. 19) from Hebrews 7:3; "high" of priesthood in Alma 13:18 from "high" of God in Hebrews 7:1.

93. Cf. citations of Isaiah in 1 Ne. 20-21; 2 Ne. 7-8, 12-24; Mosiah 14, 3 Ne. 22.

94. Examples: giving Melchizedek a genealogy (Alma 13:18; cf. Heb. 7:3); redenominating the priesthood after Jesus rather than after Melchizedek (Alma 13:1, etc.; cf. Heb 5:6, etc.); the problems of the duties and scope of the priesthood (see Section 3, above). Cf. the matter of "high" in Alma 13:18 (see n92).

95. Examples: building a "biography" of Melchizedek in Alma 13:14-19 from the interpretation of his name and title in Hebrews 7:2; creating an entirely different quotation and quotation-context in Alma 12:33-36 on the basis of Hebrews 3:7-12; creating a typology for the priesthood in Alma 13; cf. the phrase "there were many before him and also there were many afterwards" in Alma 13:19 which perhaps derives from Hebrews 7:3.

recontextualization. To save text, to solve problems, or to develop implications, the biblical phraseology and ideas were placed in a new context. It is this creation of new contexts which is the creative hallmark of Smith's use of the Bible in Alma 12-13. Recontextualization can create a text which seems on the surface to have no direct relationship to the Bible.

(4a) One form of recontextualization is *generalization* or *universalization.*[96] Principles or ideas having narrow or particular contexts in the biblical context are given a broader or more generally applicable context and justification.

(4b) A similar form of recontextualization is *primordialization.*[97] Principles or ideas with narrow or particular contexts in the Bible are placed in contexts at the beginning of human history or even before the creation of humans and the earth.

(4c) Another form of recontextualization is *conflation.*[98] Here matters unrelated in a biblical text are placed together in a similar context. This collocation generates new ways of thinking about the subjects which were unrelated in the biblical text. My study has shown how Smith mixed diverse elements in Hebrews into a unit in Alma 12-13. Conflation, however, could include examples of the mixing of elements taken from different biblical texts.

These traits grow out of and reflect Smith's ideology and attitude toward Christianity and the Old and New Testaments. He had a "Christian primitivistic" view regarding religion, a view shared by others of his time and the areas in which he lived.[99] According to this view Christianity during the centuries between the time of the first Christians and the present had deviated from the true course, and there was therefore a need to go back to or restore primitive Christianity. Smith's basic primitivistic tendency was augmented by a notion that the true religion, Christianity, was found not only among

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96. Examples: expanding the scope of Abraham's tithe (Alma 13:15) and ignoring the war context in Alma 13:14-19 generally; ignoring the wilderness rebellion context in Alma 12:33-37 (cf. Heb. 3:7-12); expanding the duties of the priesthood and the scope of those who can be priests (see Section 3, above); cf. the matter of generalizing the interpretation of Melchizedek's name and title.

97. Examples: placing the quotation dealing with hardening hearts back toward the beginning of human history (Alma 12:33-35); placing "provocation" at the beginning of human history (Alma 13:36-37); establishing a call to the priesthood at the "foundation of the world" in Alma 13; placing the language of Hebrews 9:27 in a context of the fall (Alma 13:27-28).

98. Example: the matters of priesthood and the matters of faith in Hebrews are mixed to create the idea that priesthood comes by faith in Alma 13.

99. See Hill (1968) on the issue generally.

the first Christians but also among the prophets, patriarchs, and other righteous people before Jesus' mortal advent.[100]

These perspectives were accompanied by the judgment that the Old and New Testaments, records which could presumably provide the necessary exemplary and fundamental information for the restoration of true religion, were defective. For example, the Old Testament did not reveal anything directly or explicitly about Christian notions supposedly prevalent among the ancients. Indeed deists and other rationalists had used and were using this as evidence against the validity of Christianity.[101] Moreover, Christianity had developed divergent practices and ideas which conflicted with one another. God's revelation, being a true revelation, surely would have settled these matters before they arose. These apparent holes and gaps in the Testaments meant for Smith that the scriptures were not as complete as they once were. "Precious parts" had been taken away, which left questions and occasions for stumbling.[102] Thus Smith developed the view that the restoration of the true gospel required also the restoration of texts which would make up the deficiency found in the Testaments. This ideology and attitude led him to rewrite the Bible in the ways reviewed in this paper.[103] Logical gaps were filled, problems were solved, and religious principles and ideas were given broader justification.[104]

These techniques of biblical revision with their driving ideology continued to manifest themselves in all of Smith's other "ancient" scriptures during the rest of his life. Recognition of this makes the sequence of his works understandable. For example, almost immediately after he finished the Book of Mormon, he began revising the Bible. From a traditional point of view, these two works are quite distinct from one another: one is supposed to be a translation from an ancient text inscribed

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100. See the implications of 1 Ne. 5:11; 2 Ne. 2:19-26; Mosiah 3.

101. See Hullinger 1992; cf. Paine 1794-96, for some of the objections that were circulating just before Joseph Smith's time (see Hullinger's discussion, pp. 21-24). Paine's book is relevant because the Joseph Smith family had a copy of the work (see Hullinger, 35).

102. Cf. 1 Ne. 13:26: "they have taken away from the gospel of the Lamb many parts which are plain and most precious; and also many covenants of the Lord have they taken away"; cf. vv. 28, 29, 32, 34. This removal of portions of the Bible is one of the reasons for Joseph Smith's work (vv. 35-42).

103. It also was responsible for his creating a very unique and new religious tradition. See Shipps 1985.

104. This ideology was presumably not wholly formed when Joseph Smith began work on the Book of Mormon. Work on the book probably helped concretize his views on these matters.

on metal plates, the other a restoration of lost passages from the Bible using the English (KJV) text. But the two works are actually not much different from one another in some of their basic methods of composition. The Book of Mormon is a new narrative, not a reworking of biblical stories, but it uses the KJV in various ways: in extensive explicit quoting, as in the citation of several chapters from Isaiah; or in a looser reworking of the biblical text, such as in the case examined in Alma 12-13. Through this use of the Bible in the Book of Mormon Smith developed his method of revising the biblical text. By the time he completed the Book of Mormon, he was fully prepared and enabled to move to the task of revising the KJV. Indeed using the Bible in composing the Book of Mormon might have brought the project of revising the Bible to mind. It is possible too that the similarity of how he treated the Bible in both works explains in part why he called each work a "translation."

Similar observations can be made about the Book of Abraham, a work begun by Smith in 1835 and continued in the years that followed. Again tradition would understand this text as having a character entirely different from the Book of Mormon and the JSR: it is viewed as a translation of an Egyptian text. But as I have indicated incidentally at some points in this paper, this work is basically a reworking of the English biblical text (some Hebrew learning is exhibited as well, but not much). Consequently, in all his work there is a consistency in approach and method: he is not working in any of them with ancient languages (except for the bit of Hebrew in Abraham) and in all of them there is attention (to a greater or lesser degree) to revising or responding to the KJV. (This common character of all the works shows, by the way, that Smith, and not some other nineteenth-century personage, is the author of the Book of Mormon.)

Future textual research will undoubtedly augment what I have attempted to accomplish in this essay, showing the creative and religious genius of Joseph Smith. Such study will demonstrate that the Book of Mormon is a work which, to use the language of Jacob Neusner about the Mishnah, "compliments its audience" (1977, 319).

Afterword

Some might think that acceptance of the conclusion that Joseph Smith is author of the Book of Mormon requires rejecting the work as religiously relevant and significant. I append this afterword to make it clear that such a rejection does not follow from this critical judgment. Historical conclusions about a scriptural text, such as who authored it, are *existential* judgments, as William James has pointed out, and can and should be separated from judgments about *spiritual* value (James 1961, 23). Historical conclusions might be made about a scriptural text show-

ing that it has errors and demonstrates more humanness than previously thought, but these conclusions do not mean *a priori* that the text has no religious value. They are only challenging if one retains a traditional viewpoint which requires that scripture, to be scripture, be miraculous, free (or mostly free) of error, and God's own word rather than humans' words about God. One can adopt an alternative attitude, tempered by the acceptance of critical conclusions (or more abstractly the critical method, which generates critical conclusions), that allows the text to speak a spiritual message. This attitude depends less on scripture's proving itself to the reader and more on an individual's and community's *willingness* to appreciate the text as religiously relevant.

The separation between existential and spiritual judgments and the change in presuppositions about the nature of scripture have been exemplified in the work and lives of modern Jewish and Christian students of the Bible. Many of these scholars have come to conclusions about the biblical text very similar in tenor to those offered in this paper about the Book of Mormon.[105] For example, they recognize that authorship of many biblical books is not that which tradition or the texts themselves claim. Many texts attributed to early times were actually written later. Many of the events recorded in the Bible did not actually occur. And some of the works were written pseudonymously, in the names of writers who did not write them.[106] Despite these historical conclusions, these scholars have found religious value in the Bible. Indeed, having made this distinction in judgments, they have reintegrated the historical observations into the religious side by viewing them as evidence of how God works. The critical approach does not lead then to a denial of the hand of God. Rather it becomes a way of understanding God's manner of revelation. The way these scholars have managed a religious yet critical approach shows the possibility of such with regard to Joseph Smith's scriptures. Their response should be studied by Mormons for indications of how we might deal with a critical and religious reading of scripture.[107]

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105. This, by the way, shows that the conclusions made here about the Book of Mormon cannot be used to funnel Mormons into fundamentalist Christianity. It is the height of methodological inconsistency to think that critical method of study can be applied to the Book of Mormon and that its results can be accepted while leaving the Bible exempted from critical study.

106. Nonspecialists who want a recent sampling of critical opinion on biblical books and subjects therein can see Mays 1988.

107. See, for example, Barr 1980, 1983; Brown 1981; Childs 1979; Dulles 1983; Greenberg 1984; Gnuse 1985. See also the suggestions for Mormon perspectives in Hutchinson 1987, 1988. Mark Thomas's work also has provided some positive perspectives (see Thomas 1983, and his essay in Vogel 1990). See also my 1992 article.

Certainly a critically based approach to the Book of Mormon as scripture would lead to a different reading of that book. I would like here, in conclusion, to suggest one way the work might be read. Adopting the critical conclusion about authorship made in this paper might lead one to appreciate the Book of Mormon as a window to Joseph Smith's life, revealing the sharpness of his intellect and portraying his religious growth. It records many of his questions and answers. It reflects his internal struggles and spiritual challenges in the context of his social and religious environment. As such it becomes a "true record," to adapt William James's phrase applied to Jewish and Christian scripture critically read, "of the inner experience of [a] great-souled [person] wrestling with the crises of [his] fate" (1961, 24). The Book of Mormon is the apprentice's workshop of Smith's prophetic career. In it we see him becoming a prophet. By careful and critical reading of its chapters against the environment in which it was produced, we can understand him much more completely and thus appreciate the foundations of the tradition he inaugurated. We can also use this study of Joseph Smith to reflect on our own situations and work out solutions to our questions and problems.

Appendix: The Major Parallel Texts

Below are listed the major parallel texts discussed above. The shorter parallels recognized incidentally and those subsequently summarized are not listed here. The English biblical text is the King James Version. Exact or almost near exact parallels are in boldface type; less exact parallels are italicized.

PARALLELS TO SECTION 1

Part A: Parallels between Hebrews 7:1-2 and Genesis 14:18-20

	Hebrews 7:1-2	**Genesis 14:18-20**
(a)	(1) For this **Melchisedec,**	And **Melchizedek**
(b)	**king of Salem,**	**king of Salem**
(c)		brought forth bread and wine
(d)	**priest of the most High God,**	and he was the **priest of the most High God**
(e)	who met Abraham returning from the slaughter of the kings	(cf. 14:17-20)

(f)	**and blessed him**	(19) **And he blessed him,** and said, Blessed be Abram of the most high God, possessor of heaven and earth; (20) And blessed be the most high God, which hath delivered thine enemies into thy hand.
(g)	(2a) *to whom also Abraham* **gave** *a tenth part* **of all.** [Cf. v. 4: "Abraham gave a tenth of the spoils."]	*And* **he gave** *him tithes* **of all.**

Part B: Parallels between Hebrews 7:1-2 and Genesis 14:18-20 in Original Languages

	Hebrews 7:1-2 (Greek New Testament)	**Genesis 14:18-20 (Septuagint [Greek])**	**Genesis 14:18-20 (Hebrew Bible)**
(a)	(1) houtos gar ho **Melchisedek**	(18) kai **Melchisedek**	18) **umalki-cedeq**
(b)	**basileus Salem**	**basileus Salem**	**melek çalem**
(c)		exenenken artous kai oinon	hoci' leHem wayayin
(d)	**hiereus tou theou tou hypsistou**	**en de hiereus tou theou tou hypsistou**	wehu' **kohen le'el ᶜelyon**
(e)	ho sunantesas Abraam hypostrephonti apo tes kopes ton basileon	(cf 14:17-20)	(cf 14:17-20)
(f)	**kai eulogesas** *auton*	**(19) kai eulogesen** *ton Abram* kai eipen, eulogemenos Abram to theo to hypsisto, hos	(19) **waybarekehu** wayyo'mar baruk 'abram le'el ᶜelyon qone çamayim wa'arec (20) ubaruk 'el ᶜelyon

		ektisen ton ouranon kai ten gen, (20) kai eulogetos ho theos ho hypsistos hos paredoken tous echtrous sou hypocheirious soi	'açer miggen careka beyadeka
(g)	(2a) *ho* **kai dekaten apo panton** *emerisen Abraam*	**kai edoken** *auto* **dekaten apo panton**	wayyiten-*lo* **maᶜaSer mikkol**

Part C: Parallels between Hebrews 7:1-4 and Alma 13:17-19+15, 7-9

	Hebrews 7:1-4	**Alma 13:17-19+15, 7-9**
(a)	(1) for **this Melchisedec,**	(17) Now this **Melchizedek**
(b)	**king of Salem,**	was a **king** over the land **of Salem,**
(c)		and his people had waxed strong in iniquity and abominations. Yea, they had all gone astray; they were full of all manner of wickedness. (18) But Melchizedek, having exercised mighty faith and received the office
(d)	**priest of** the most high **God**	of the high **priesthood** according to the holy order **of God,**
(e)		did preach repentance unto his people
(f)	who met Abraham returning from the slaughter of the kings and blessed him;	
(g)	(2) **To whom** also **Abraham gave a tenth part of all;**	[(15) And it was this same Melchizedek **to whom Abraham paid tithes;** yea, even our father

		Abraham *paid tithes* of *one-***tenth part of all** he possessed]
(h)		And behold, they did repent.
(i)	first being by interpretation King of righteousness, and after that also **King of Salem,** which is *King* **of peace;**	And Melchizedek did establish **peace** in the land in his days; therefore he was called the *Prince* **of Peace,** for he was the **king of Salem.**
(j)	Without **father,** without mother, without descent,	And he did reign under his **father.**
(k)	**having neither beginning of days nor end of** *life;* but made like unto the Son of God abideth a priest *continually.*	[(7) This high priesthood after the order of his Son, which order was from the foundation of the world; or in other words, being **without beginning of days or end of** *years,* being prepared *from eternity to all eternity* ... (8) ... high priesthood is **without beginning or end.** (9) ... the Only Begotten of the Father ... is without **beginning of days or end** of *years.* ...] (19) Now there were *many before him,* and also there were many *afterwards,*
(l)	(4) Now consider how **great** this man was ...	but none were **greater** ...

PARALLELS TO SECTION 2

Part A: Parallels between Hebrews 3:7-11 and Psalm 95:7-11

Hebrews 3:7-11	**Psalm 95:7-11**
(7) Wherefore (as the Holy Ghost saith,	
To day if ye will hear his voice,	(7b) **To day if ye will hear his voice,**
(8) **Harden not your hearts as in**	(8) **Harden not your hearts, as in**

the provocation, in the day of temptation in the wilderness.
(9) When your fathers tempted me, proved me, and saw my works forty years.
(10) Wherefore **I was grieved with** *that* **generation, and said,** *They* **do always err in their heart; and they have not known my ways,**
(11) so **I sware in my wrath, They shall not enter into my rest)**

the provocation, and as **in the day of temptation in the wilderness.**
(9) When your fathers tempted me, proved me, and saw my work.
(10) **Forty years** long **was I grieved with** *this* **generation, and said,** It is *a people* **that do err in their heart, and they have not known my ways:**
(11) Unto whom **I sware in my wrath,** that **they should not enter into my rest**

Part B: Parallels between Hebrews 3:7-11 and Psalm 95:7-11 in the Original Languages

Hebrews 3:7-11 (Greek New Testament)	**Psalm 94 (=95):7-11 (Septuagint [Greek])**	**Psalm 95:7-11 (Hebrew Bible)**
(7) Dio, kathos legei to pneuma to hagion		
Semeron ean tes phones autou akousete	(7b) **semeron, ean tes phones autou akousete**	(7b) **hayyom 'im beqolo tiçmaᶜu**
(8) **me sklerunete tas kardias hymon hos en** *to parapikrasmo* **kata ten hemeran** *tou peirasmou* **en te eremo,**	(8) **me sklerunete tas kardias hymon hos en** *to parapikrasmo* **kata ten hemeran** *toupeirasmou* **en te eremo**	(8) **'al-taqçu lebabkem ki***mriba* keyom *massa* **bammidbar**
(9) **hou epeirasan hoi pateres hymon** *en dokimasia* **kai eidon ta erga mou**	(9) **hou epeirasan hoi pateres hymon** *edokimasan* **kai eidosan ta erga mou**	(9) **'açer nissuni 'abotekem** *beHanuni* **gam-ra'u poᶜoli/ay**
(10) **tessarakonta ete** dio **prosochthisa te genea** taute **kai eipon, Aei planontai te kardia, autoi de ouk egnosan tas hodous mou,**	(10) **tessara konta ete prosochthisa te genea** ekeine **kai eipa Aei planontai te kardia kai autoi ouk egnosan tas hodous mou,**	(10) **'arbaᶜim çana 'aqut bedor wa'omar ᶜam toᶜe lebab hem wehem lo'-yadeᶜu derakay**
(11) **hos omosa en**	(11) **hos omosa en**	(11) **'açer niçbaᶜti**

te orge mou Ei eiseleusontai eis ten katapausin mou.	**te orge mou Ei eiseleusontai eis ten katapausin mou.**	**be'appi 'im-yebo'un 'el-menuHati**

Part C: Parallels between Hebrews 3-4 and Alma 12-13 Regarding the Motifs of Psalm 95:7-11

The main parallels here are between (1) hardening hearts, (2) entering into God's rest, (3) the present ("Today") as the day for spiritual response, and (4) provocation. These are more or less randomly distributed between the two passages. Sections marked (a)-(d), however, constitute parallel elements with similar order and form (this is where the texts have their citations). The texts run with no particular side-by-side correlation except at the citations. The texts are presented in order.

	Hebrews 3-4 (Chap. 3 unless marked 4)	**Alma 12-13 (Chap. 12 unless marked 13)**
		(10) And therefore, he that **will harden his heart,** the same receiveth the lesser portion of the word; and he that **will** not **harden his heart,** to him is given the greater portion. ... (11) and he that **will harden his heart,** ... (13) ... if our **hearts have been hardened,** yea, if we have **hardened our hearts** against the word. ... (24) ... *This life became a probationary state; a time to prepare to meet God.* ...
(a)	(7) Wherefore the (as) *Holy Ghost* **saith,**	(33) But *God* did call on men, in the name of his Son, (this being the plan of redemption which was laid) **saying:**
(b)	*"Today* **if ye will** *hear his voice,* (8) **Harden not your hearts** as in the	**"If ye will** *repent* and **harden not your hearts** then will I have mercy

	provocation, in the day of temptation in the wilderness. (9) When your fathers tempted me, proved me, and saw my works forty years.	upon you, through mine only Begotten Son. (34) Therefore, whoever *repenteth* and **hardeneth not his heart,** he shall have claim on mercy through mine Only Beggotten Son, unto a remission of their sins,
	(10) Wherefore I was grieved with that generation, and said, They do alway err in their **heart;** and they have not known my ways,	
(c)	(11) So **I sware in my wrath, They shall not enter into my rest**")	**and these shall enter into my rest** (35) And whosoever will **harden his heart** and will do iniquity, behold, **I swear in my wrath** that **they shall not enter into my rest."**
(d)	(12) Take heed, **brethren,** lest there be in any of you an evil **heart** of unbelief. … (13) But exhort one another daily, while it is called **To day;** lest any of you be **hardened** through deceitfulness of sin. (15) While it is said, **To day** if ye will hear his voice, **harden** not your hearts, as in the **provocation.** (16) For some when they had heard, did **provoke**. … (18) And to whom **sware he** that *they* **should not**	(36) And now my, **brethren,** behold, I say unto you, that **if ye will harden your your hearts** ye shall not **enter into the rest of the Lord;** therefore your inquity **provoketh** him that he sendeth down his wrath upon you as in the first **provocation,** yea, according to his word in the last **provocation** as well as the first, … (37) And now, my brethren, seeing that we know these things, and they are true, let us repent,

enter his rest, but to them that believed not? (19) So we see that they could not **enter in** because of unbelief. (4:1) Let us therefore hear, lest, a promise being left us of **entering into his rest**, any of you should seem to come short of it. (4:3) For we which have believed do **enter into rest**, as he has said, **As I have sworn in my wrath, if they shall enter into my rest.** ... (4:5) ... If **they shall enter in my rest.** (4:6) Seeing therefore it remaineth that some must **enter therein,** and they to whom it was first preached **entered** not in because of unbelief.

(4:7) Again, he limiteth a certain day, saying in David, **To day** after so long a time; as it is said, **To day if ye will** *hear his voice,* **harden not your hearts.**

(4:8) For if Jesus [=Joshua] had given them **rest**, then would he not afterward have spoken of another day. (4:9) There remaineth therefore a **rest** to the people of God.

(4:10) For he that is **entered into his rest**, he also hath ceased from his own works, as God did from his.

(4:11) Let us labour therefore to **enter ... into that rest**, lest any man fall after the same example of unbelief.

and **harden not our hearts**, that we **provoke** not the Lord our God ... but let us **enter into the rest of God**, which is prepared according to his word.

(13:4) ... others would reject the Spirit of God on account of the **hardness** of their **hearts**, and the blindness of their minds. ... (13:6) ... called ... and ordained ... to teach his commandments unto the children of men, that they also might **enter into his rest.**

(13:12) ...there were many ... which were made pure and **entered into the rest of the Lord their God.**

(13:13) ... **humble yourselves before God** ... **that ye may also enter into that rest.**

(13:16) ... that they might **enter into the rest of the Lord**

(13:21) ... *Now is the time to repent, for the* **day** *of salvation draweth nigh.*

(13:27) ... I wish ... that ye would ... cast off your sins and *not procrastinate the* **day** *of your repentance.*

(13:29) Having faith on the Lord ... that ye may be lifted up at the last day and **enter into his rest.**

PARALLELS TO SECTION 4

Here are listed in schematic form parallels between Ether 12 and Hebrews 11 as well as other general points of contact between Ether 12 and Hebrews. I have not discussed these parallels in and of themselves, but it is clear that Ether 12 depends on Hebrews. It shows further how much of an influence Hebrews was on Joseph Smith.

Ether 12	**Hebrews**
(4) Wherefore, whoso believeth night with **surety hope** for a **better** world, yea, even a **place** at the **right hand of God,**	(7:22) "**surety** of a **better** testament" (cf. "**better**" in 11:16, 35, 40) cf. "**place**"in 11:8 (see below) "**right hand of** ... **God**/the Majesty" (1:3, 13; 8:1; 10:12; 12:2, which depend on Ps. 110:1)
which **hope** cometh of faith, maketh **an anchor to the souls** of men, which would make them **sure and steadfast,** always abounding in good works, being led to glorify God.	(6:19) "Which **hope** we have as **an anchor of the soul,** both **sure and steadfast**"
(5) ... Ether did prophesy great and marvelous things unto the people, which they did not believe because they **saw** them **not.**	(cf. 11:3: "so that things which are **seen** were **not** made of things which do appear")
(6) ... **faith is things which is hoped for** and **not seen;** wherefore, dispute not because ye **see not**	(11:1) "Now **faith is** the substance of **things hoped for,** the evidence of things **not seen**" (cf. 11:3).
for ye receive no **witness** not until after the trial of your faith.	(11:4) "By faith Abel offered unto God a more excellent sacrifice ... by which he **obtained witness** that he was righteous ..." (cf. 1 Pet. 1:7).
"**by/through**/*because of* **faith**" (7, 8, 10, 11, 16, 17, 22; cf. 9, 12, 13, 14, 15, 19, 20, 29, 30, 31)	"**by/through faith**" (11:4, 5, 7, 8, 9, 11, 17, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 33)
Examples of faith:	Examples of faith:
Christ manifesting himself (7-8)	**Abel** (11:4)
"**they of old**"	**Enoch** (5)
Alma and Amulek (13)	**Noah** (7)
Nephi and Lehi (14)	**Abraham** and **Sara** (8-19)
Ammon et al. (15)	**Isaac** (20)
three Nephite disciples (17)	**Jacob** (21)
Brother of Jared (20, 30)	**Joseph** (22)
Moroni's ancestors (22)	**Moses** (23-29)
Jesus' disciples (31)	**Israelites** in Jericho attack (30)

	Rahab (31) **Gideon Barak, Samson, Jephthah, David, Samuel, prophets** (32-38)
(8) ... [Christ] *prepared* the **way** that thereby others might be **partakers of the heavenly gift,** that they might hope for those things which they have **not seen**	(10:20) "By a new and living **way** which he hath *consecrated* for us ..." (6:4) "those ... have *tasted* of the **heavenly gift** and were made **partakers of the** Holy Ghost" (cf. 3:1 "**partakers of the heavenly** calling") (cf. 11:1)
11) ... by faith was the **law of Moses** given. But in the gift of his Son hath God **prepared a more excellent way** ...	(10:20) "By a new and living **way** which he hath *consecrated* for us ..." (cf. 1:4: "**more excellent** name"; 8:6: "**more excellent** ministry"; 11:4: "**more excellent** sacrifice") (See below on Ether 12:32) But cf. 1 Cor. 12:31[108] [On the "**law of Moses,**" see Heb. 7-10.]
(17) And it was **by faith** that the three disciples **obtained** a **promise** that they should not taste of death; and they **obtained** not the **promise** until after their faith. (20) ... which word he had **obtained** by faith. ... (21) ... because of the **promise** which the brother of Jared had **obtained** by faith. ... (22) ... it is **by faith** that my fathers have **obtained** the **promise** that these things should come unto their brethren through the Gentiles ...	(11:33) "Who **through faith** subdued kingdoms, wrought righteousness, **obtained promises,** stopped the mouths of lions"[109]
19) And there were many whose faith was so exceedingly strong, even before Christ came, who could not be kept from **within the veil** ...(21) ... the brother of Jared	(6:19) "Which hope we have as an anchor of the soul, both sure and steadfast, and which entereth into that **within the veil.** (9:3) And after the second **veil,** the

108. This has "more excellent way." One might think that Hebrews' use of "way" and "more excellent" led to the use of this phrase in Corinthians. "More" with "excellent" occurs elsewhere only in Psalm 76:4; Romans 2:18.

109. "Obtain promise" is only in Hebrews (within the KJV)

could not longer be kept without the **veil.**
(32) ... the mansions of thy Father, in the which man might have a

more excellent hope,
or he cannot **receive an inheritance** in the **place** which thou hast prepared.

tabernacle which is called the Holiest of all.
(10:20) By a new and living way ... through the **veil,** that is to say, his flesh."
"more excellent" (see above on Ether 12:11); (Heb. 7:19) *"better* **hope"** (11:8) "By faith Abraham, when he was called to go out into a **place** which he should after **receive for an inheritance,** obeyed; and he went out, not knowing whither he went. (Cf. John 14:2-3.)"

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CHAPTER 7

Multiply Exceedingly: Book of Mormon Population Sizes[1]

John C. Kunich

As Latter-day Saints we are urged to study the Book of Mormon and apply its teachings to our lives. In "likening the scriptures unto ourselves," however, we sometimes anachronistically ascribe modern attitudes, practices, and phenomena to Book of Mormon people. Although usually innocuous, this penchant for viewing the long ago through contemporary glasses can sometimes distort our understanding of the text.

In this essay I examine one possible problem in current LDS interpretations of the Book of Mormon. In the context of today's much-publicized population explosion and from the perspective of an era accustomed to miracles in medicine, technology, nutrition, and transportation, I believe we have overlooked a fundamental difficulty in Book of Mormon population sizes. Assuming that Book of Mormon people were like us, we have accepted that the multitudes of Nephites and Lamanites reported in Mormon scripture sprang from two small bands of Palestinian emigrants, since they had hundreds of years in which to "multiply exceedingly." However, an understanding of historical demography may challenge this traditional interpretation.

Internal Evidence for Nephite - Lamanite - Mulekite Populations

Arriving at a reasonable estimate of Nephite-Lamanite numbers is

1. This essay is a revision of an earlier article in *Sunstone* 14 (June 1990): 27-44.

more art than science. The Book of Mormon favors hyperbolic generalities in this area. Terms such as "multitude," "numerous," "exceedingly great," "innumerable," and "as the sands of the sea" impress more than inform. For example, nowhere does the text explain how many Lamanites constitute a multitude.

The text does provide sufficient detail to allow some feel for population levels at various points in time. Numbers of military combatants and casualties are sometimes specifically reported. Arguably enemy numbers may have been exaggerated in order to enhance victory or justify defeat. However, a number as precise as 12,532 appears to signify an actual count rather than a wild guess or inflated propaganda ploy. Thus I will treat these specific numbers as substantially accurate and use them as a frame of reference for interpreting less precise terms. Although gaps remain in the scriptural record, we have enough "snapshots" of the numbers at different times and places to permit reasonable extrapolation and interpolation.

I begin with an estimate of the number of original ocean voyagers. According to LDS tradition, they were the literal ancestors of all subsequent Book of Mormon peoples and for some if not all present-day native Americans. The Book of Mormon mentions two pioneering groups as forerunners of the Nephite and Lamanite nations: the peoples of Lehi and Mulek. I do not include the Jaredites because they became extinct (except for Coriantumr) and failed to contribute to Nephite-Lamanite colonizations (Ether 15:12-34).

When Lehi's group sailed from the Old World in about 591 B.C.E., it consisted of the following men: Lehi; his sons Laman, Lemuel, Sam, Nephi, Jacob, and Joseph; Zoram; and the two unnamed sons of Ishmael (1 Ne. 7:6; 16:7). Ishmael himself died before they began their ocean voyage (16:34). Because of female anonymity in the Book of Mormon, we know the name of only one of the seafaring women: Lehi's wife Sariah (1 Ne. 2:5). But we are told that Ishmael's five daughters also made the trip as the wives of Laman, Lemuel, Sam, Nephi, and Zoram. Finally, Ishmael's wife and the families of Ishmael's two sons—as well as an ambiguous reference to Nephi's "sisters"—formed Lehi's band (1 Ne. 18:9; 2 Ne. 5:6).

Some of this group were relatively old with grown children of their own (Lehi, Sariah, and Ishmael's wife). Others, at least Jacob and Joseph, were born "in the wilderness" following Lehi's exodus from Jerusalem but prior to the ocean voyage and thus were very young (1 Ne. 18:7, 19; 2 Ne. 2:1; 3:1, 25). There were apparently other small children, perhaps the "family" or children of the sons of Ishmael and the children of Laman and Lemuel (1 Ne. 7:6; 2 Ne. 4:3, 8-9). It is unlikely there were other passengers on Lehi's vessel. Jacob, Joseph, and other children were too young to have wives.

Lehi's group apparently consisted of at least seventeen and as many as nineteen adults. Jacob and Joseph could not have had spouses until their nieces or the daughters of Ishmael's sons reached marriagable age. It is also important that Lehi, Sariah, and Ishmael's wife were elderly or spouseless or both and therefore probably not capable of reproduction. Thus we are told of only fourteen emigrants capable of reproduction when they arrived in the New World: Laman, Lemuel, Sam, Nephi, Zoram, the two sons of Ishmael, and the wives of each.

When these colonists divided into two main groups, the Nephites included Nephi, Zoram, and Sam, and the families of each plus young Jacob and Joseph, Nephi's "sisters," and "all those who would go with [Nephi]" (a group never named) (2 Ne. 5:6-9; Alma 3:6). The Lamanites were Laman, Lemuel, Ishmael's sons, and presumably the families of each. Later dissenters from Nephites joined them (2 Ne. 4:13; Alma 3:7; 43:13; 47:35).

We have little information on Mulek's colonists. They left Jerusalem a few years after Lehi's group, when Zedekiah was taken captive, and eventually became "very numerous" before joining the Nephites (Omni 1:14-19; Mosiah 25:12-13). The only specific population information is for 120 B.C.E. At that time the Mulekites reportedly outnumbered the Nephites, but both groups combined totalled less than half the size of the Lamanite population (Mosiah 25:2-30).

Although Mulek's group began multiplying in the New World shortly after Lehi's, both events may be considered effectively simultaneous. If we assume a roughly equal reproductive rate for the Mulek and Lehi populations, the size of Mulek's original reproductively capable group must have been less than half that of Lehi's emigrants given the information about the comparative size of the two populations in 120 B.C.E. This means there were probably fewer than seven members of Mulek's group capable of reproduction. Certainly there may have been additional voyagers who were not producing offspring—the elderly, young, and/or unmarried.

From these two small clusters of pioneering emigrants came the population growth which resulted in the Nephite and Lamanite nations. That story comprises much of the Book of Mormon. However, for ease of reference, I have condensed the pertinent population-related information into Table 1.

Table 1.
Book of Mormon Population Size Information

588-70 B.C.E.	Nephites begin to multiply (2 Ne. 5:13)
560	Nephite-Lamanite wars forty years after leaving

	Jerusalem (2 Ne. 5:34)
544-421	Nephite multitude gathered together (Jacob 7:17)
	Continual Nephite-Lamanite wars (Enos 1:20-24)
399	Nephites multiply exceedingly and wax strong (Jarom 1:5, 8)
	Lamanites exceedingly more numerous than Nephites (Jarom 1:6)
317	Nephites engaged in many serious wars (Omni 1:3)
279-130	Mulekites exceedingly numerous, have many wars (Omni 1:14-19)
187	Numerous host of Lamanites (Mosiah 9:14)
	3,043 Lamanites, 279 of Zeniff's people slain in one day and night (Mosiah 9:18)
178-60	Numerous host of Lamanites (Mosiah 10:8)
	So many Lamanites killed they do not number them (Mosiah 10:20)
145-22	Lamanites slay many Limhi people (Mosiah 21:8)
	Limhi people suffer much loss (Mosiah 21:11-12)
	Many still left alive (Mosiah 21:17)
130	King Benjamin's army kills many thousands of Lamanites (W of M 1:13-14)
124	Great multitude of King Benjamin's people, too many to number, because they had multiplied exceedingly and waxed strong (Mosiah 2:2, 7-8)
121	Lamanites too numerous to fight against (Mosiah 22:2)
	Multitude of Limhi people (Mosiah 8:4)
120	Mulekites more numerous than Nephites, but Mulekites and Nephites together are less than half as numerous as Lamanites (Mosiah 25:2-3)
100-92	Nephites very numerous, scattered everywhere (Mosiah 27:6)
87	12,532 Amlicites, 6,562 Nephites slain (Alma 2:17-19)
	Numerous host of Lamanites (Alma 2:24)
	Lamanites and Amlicites almost as numerous as the sands of the sea, too numerous to number (Alma 2:27, 35)
	Too many Nephite men, women, children killed to number (Alma 3:1-2)
	Another Lamanite and numerous Nephite armies battle not many days later, many Lamanites slain (Alma 3:20-23)
	Thousands and tens of thousands slain in one year (Alma 3:25-26)
85	3,500 Nephites baptized in one year (Alma 4:5)
81	Lamanites slay all inhabitants of great city of Ammonihah (Alma 16:9-11)
90-77	Thousands of Lamanites, many cities, brought to

believe (Alma 23:5, 9-13)
Lamanites kill 1,005 (Alma 24:22)
More than 1,000 Lamanites saved (Alma 24:26-27)
Many thousands saved (Alma 26:4, 13)

76 Tens of thousands of Lamanites slain and scattered, plus many Nephites (Alma 28:2-3)
Many thousands mourn (Alma 28:10-12)
Many thousands killed during 15 years of war (Alma 28:10-11)
Too many killed to number (Alma 30:1-2)

74 Alma speaks to two multitudes of Nephites (Alma 32:4, 7)
Thousands of Lamanites at war (Alma 43:5)
Noah's descendants almost as numerous as Nephites (Alma 43:13)
Lamanites more than double Nephites, enemies much more numerous (Alma 43:21, 51)

73 Many thousand Nephites and Lamanites converted (Alma 37:9-10, 19)
Nephite, Lamanite dead exccedingly great, too many to number (Alma 44:20-22)

72 Numerous host of Lamanites (Alma 48:3; 49:6)
More than 1,000 Lamanites slain (Alma 49:23)

71 Many Nephite cities (Alma 50:13-15)
Thousands of wicked Nephites in bondage or perish (Alma 50:22)
Nephites multiply and wax strong (Alma 50:18)

67 Lamanite army wonderfully great despite many thousands slain (Alma 51:11)
4,000 Nephite dissenters killed (Alma 51:19)
Lamanites' numberless hosts take many cities, slay many Nephites (Alma 51:26-30)

66 Enormity of Lamanite numbers (Alma 52:5, 12)
Moroni sends large number of men (Alma 52:7)
Much bloodshed, more taken prisoner than slain (Alma 52:35, 40)

65 10,000 Nephite reinforcements, plus wives and children (Alma 56:28)

64 2,000 stripling warriors (Alma 53:18)

63 Additional 6,060 Nephite men (Alma 57:6)
Enormity of Nephite numbers (Alma 57:13)
2,000 Lamanites killed, many prisoners (Alma 57:13-14)
1,000 Nephites slain (Alma 57:26)
2,000 more Nephites arrive guarding food (Alma 58:7-8)
Lamanites' innumerable hosts in army (Alma 58:8, 15, 18)

62 Vast number of Nephites slain (Alma 56:10)
Lamanites take many cities (Alma 56:13-15)

	Great slaughter of people of Nephihah (Alma 59:7-8)
	Numerous Lamanite armies (Alma 59:7-8)
	Thousands of Nephites killed (Alma 60:5, 7)
	Tens of thousands of Nephites not in army (Alma 60:22)
61	6,000 Nephite men join Helaman, 6,000 join Lehi and Teancum (Alma 62:12-13)
	Many Lamanites slain, but 4,000 not slain (Alma 62:15, 17)
	Greatness of Nephite numbers (Alma 62:19)
60	Nephites multiply and wax exceedingly strong (Alma 62:48)
	Great slaughter of Lamanites (Alma 62:38)
55	5,400 Nephite men, with their wives and children, emigrate north; many others die trying (Alma 63:4-10)
	Numerous Lamanite army, great loss of Lamanites (Alma 63:15)
51	Innumerable Lamanite army (Hel. 1:14, 19)
	Great slaughter of Nephite people and Lamanites (Hel. 1:27, 30)
46	Exceedingly great many Nephites and people of Ammon emigrate north (Hel. 3:3-5, 12)
43	Tens of thousands baptized into the church (Hel. 3:24-26)
38-30	Long war, numerous Lamanite army, great slaughter of Nephites (Hel. 4:1-11, 16-20)
	Lamanites exceedingly more numerous than Nephites (Hel. 4:25)
30	8,000 Lamanites baptized (Hel. 5:19)
28	Nephites and Lamanites multiply and wax exceedingly strong (Hel. 6:12)
23-20	Many great Nephite cities (Hel. 7:22; 8:5-6)
21	Nephi goes from multitude to multitude (Hel. 10:17)
17	Thousands of Lamanites and Nephites die in famine (Hel. 11:6)
16	Nephites multiply, spread, and cover the whole face of the land (Hel. 11:20)
11	Numerous robbers war with Nephites and Lamanites (Hel. 11:30-32)
C.E. 1	Robbers slaughter many (3 Ne. 1:27)
15	Numerous robbers slay many, cause much death and carnage (3 Ne. 2:11-13)
17	Nephites march by the thousands and tens of thousands to fight robbers (3 Ne. 3:22, 24)
19-21	Robbers slain by thousands and tens of thousands, in largest slaughter ever (3 Ne. 4:11, 21, 24)
	Many thousands become prisoners (3 Ne. 4:27)
34	Many slain as 16 cities destroyed (3 Ne. 8:8-10, 14-15; 9:3-10; 10:13)

	Great multitude still left alive (3 Ne. 11:1; 17:1, 5, 9-10, 12-13, 15, 18, 21, 23, 25)
	2,500 people see and hear the Savior (3 Ne. 17:25)
36-60	People of Nephi multiply exceedingly fast (4 Ne. 1:10)
322	Nephite army of over 30,000 (Morm. 1:11)
331	Nephite army of 42,000; Lamanite army of 44,000 (Morm. 2:9)
346	Nephite army of 30,000; Lamanite army of 50,000 (Morm. 2:25)
364-75	Thousands slain on both sides (Morm. 4:9)
385	230,000 Nephite warriors killed (Morm. 6:10-15)
	Greatness of Lamanite numbers (Morm. 6:8)

Nowhere in the Book of Mormon is a complete census reported. We are given accounts of certain numbers of converts being baptized or warriors dying or people emigrating but no figures on total population sizes. In order to approximate such data, we need to use a conversion factor to relate known but partial numbers to the population of the entire group. John L. Sorenson, professor of anthropology at Brigham Young University, performed such analysis and concluded: "Our first numerical data come at about 90 B.C. from the battle in which Amlicite dissenters suffered 12,532 slain and the loyal Nephites 6,562 (Al. 2:19). All these people were 'Nephites' politically speaking; the account does not talk about Lamanites at all. It is reasonable that not over half the combatants were slain, which means that at least 40,000 warriors were involved, and perhaps somewhat more. Various studies of ancient warfare suggest how to translate that figure to total population. The ratio usually believed to apply is one soldier to about five total inhabitants. Using that figure, we may conclude that the total population of those 'who were called Nephites' was 20,000 or more" (1985, 183).

Coupling this information with the contemporary report that the total number of Nephites was less than half the size of the Lamanite population, Sorenson estimated the Lamanite population at over 40,000 as of 90 B.C.E. He also found circumstantial evidence supporting that figure: "A decade after the Amlicite conflict we get still more data. Alma 28:2 says that 'tens of thousands of Lamanites were slain and scattered abroad.' The writer had not used the expression tens of thousands when the nearly 20,000 Amlicites and Nephites had been slain, so the term here must mean many more than that—at least 30,000 Lamanite dead. An attacking army on the order of 75,000 or more seems called for. The usual ratio of 1:5 yields a figure of 375,000 for the total population ... but that figure is probably too low. (The Lamanites were operating hundreds of miles from home, which leads to the conclusion that somewhat fewer than one out of five were mobi-

lized. It would take more people at home to support them on a lengthy expedition such as the geography suggests for this case.) If the ratio of one in six is used instead, the total Lamanite population from which the force had been drawn would be on the order of 450,000" (1985, 193-94).

Despite the lack of detailed information and the possibility Nephites inflated estimates of enemy casualties, Sorenson concludes that "the size of the Nephite and Lamanite populations we have calculated is probably of the correct order of magnitude." Sorenson's warrior/civilian ratio for Book of Mormon populations is impossible to verify, but certainly substantial numbers of people were noncombatants. For example, General Moroni complained to Pahoran that the army was being neglected while the people back home "are surrounded with thousands of those, yea, and tens of thousands, who do also sit in idleness, while there are thousands round about in the borders of the land who are falling by the sword" (Alma 60:22). And Zeniff sequestered women and children safely beyond the field of battle but sought reinforcements among old men and young men, generally non-warriors (Mosiah 10:9). LDS church president Spencer W. Kimball seemed to recognize the principle that noncombatants outnumber warriors when he wrote, "The Lamanite population of the Americas, at the greatest number, must have run into many millions, for in certain periods of Book of Mormon history, wars continued almost unabated and the soil was covered with the bodies of the slain" (Kimball 1981, 345).

Sorenson's formula may actually underestimate the number of civilians necessary to support an ancient army. Even in modern times the ratio of noncombatants to combatants has usually been much higher than four or five to one. As one scholar has written, "It is essential to realize that in these [historical] examples, nothing approaching the present-day situation arose, where 10 per cent of a national population might often be on active service in a war. In Serbia in the First World War, as many as a quarter of the population may have joined the armed forces. ... [In ancient times] it was not possible to absent large numbers of people from agricultural work" (Hollingsworth 1969, 230). Probably far more than four or five civilians then were needed to support a single warrior during an ancient campaign of more than a very short duration. This means Sorenson's calculations would err on the conservative side.

If we apply Sorenson's ratio to other military data, we can approximate total population size for other periods in the Book of Mormon as well. In 187 B.C.E. 3,043 Lamanites and 279 of Zeniff's people were killed in just one day and night of combat. Certainly many Lamanites were left alive after this slaughter, because a "numerous host"

of them was mentioned a decade or so later (Mosiah 9:18; 10:8, 20). Even if half the Lamanite army died in that one day, Sorenson's 1:5 multiplier yields a total Lamanite population of 30,430. If the Nephite total was somewhat less than half that figure as it was sixty-seven years later (Mosiah 25:2-3), then 10,000 to 15,000 Nephites were alive in 187 B.C.E.

The reader may make similar calculations for other points in time by referring to the population information suggested in the table. Various combinations of casualties, reinforcements, and civilian noncombatants can be pieced together and used to estimate total populace at several stages in Book of Mormon history. However, we have sufficient working information to place these data in perspective. To do so we must first discuss humankind's numbers throughout history and the factors that influence population growth rates.

Historical Demography

We in the twentieth century sometimes have difficulty comprehending the profound and fundamental changes which have occurred recently in human history. Such myopia is understandable, since most of us have never known a world without penicillin, safe drinking water, antiseptic surgery, and readily available food. But unless we recognize that things have not always been this way, we cannot appreciate the multiple revolutions which have produced our modern world.

If we imagine a world without agriculture and domesticated animals, a world which depends on our ability to find, track, hunt, and kill wild game on a frequent basis and to scrounge sufficient edible vegetable matter and potable water, we can gain some insight into the precarious existence facing humanity before the agricultural revolution (see generally Peterson 1961, 343-75). Before about 8000 B.C.E. humans struggled to eke out a subsistence level of nutrients as hunters and gatherers. Such a migratory, unpredictable, catch-as-catch-can society requires a large amount of space per person, approximately one to two square miles per human being. Thus the carrying capacity of the entire world for a hunting/gathering way of life is only about five million people (Smith 1972, 67; Bates 1955, 27; see also Pearl 1939, 262; Hertlzler 1936, 12-25; and Falk 1971, 142-43).

Population growth during this pre-agricultural period was virtually nonexistent, roughly .0001 percent per year or less (Parsons 1971, 33; Miller 1985, 88-91; Ehrlich and Ehrlich 1970, 6). Starvation and severe malnutrition were the rule rather than the exception. Cities were out of the question; people roamed in small bands to follow the food supply. Because our hunting/gathering ancestors had no reliable

medicines, no inoculations, no climate control, no rapid transportation, and no modern hygiene, infant mortality was extremely high. Life for those who survived infancy was difficult, dirty, and short. As a result the earth's population increased with glacier-like slowness through all but the last 1 or 2 percent of humankind's existence on the planet.

With the advent of the agricultural revolution, people in effect increased the earth's carrying capacity, enabling it to support more humans. Even after the emergence of agriculture, food production was still primitive by modern standards and subject to low productivity and frequent failure. Still the food supply was more predictable and dependable, no longer dependent on the vagaries of hunting (Bogue 1969, 54). Some animals were kept in herds, and some low-yielding crops were crudely cultivated. Although pesticides, preservatives, genetically selective breeding of plants and animals, effective irrigation, and fertilizers were thousands of years in the future, life was no longer a scavenger level of subsistence. And some community members could now turn to activities other than agriculture, which further helped in improving the standard of living (Ehrlich and Ehrlich 1970, 12).

Agriculture enabled people to found and maintain farming villages and eventually cities. The increased availability and constancy of food and stability in lifestyle resulted in a greatly increased population growth rate. By the time of Jesus, world population had risen to 200-400 million with an estimated annual growth rate of .04 percent (Parsons 1971, 33; Brown 1978, 72-75; Catton 1980, 18-23). Although an infinitesimal growth rate by modern standards, this increase represented a forty-fold leap from the hunting-gathering era.

Unfortunately, lack of a reliable food source was only one of the problems holding down the population. The dawn of urban existence brought a whole array of new threats to human life. Increased association with herding animals introduced new diseases such as anthrax, tuberculosis, and brucellosis, and the concentration of more people into less space facilitated the spread of disease. Disposing of waste became a serious problem as did transporting food to the urban areas (Smith 1972, 67). Life expectancy was still fairly short, about thirty to forty years, and infant mortality was still very high. Famines and outbreaks of disease, when they occurred, were apt to be devastating, because modern checks against these potential killers were still many centuries away. Cities were filthy agglomerations of people and beasts. One scholar has described the situation: "The evidence of narrow streets and small rooms in houses huddled within the compass of defensible walls tells us that crowding in ancient cities was extreme. Garbage accumulated in the houses, where the dirt floors were continually being raised by the debris, and human wastes

were rarely carried further than the nearest street. The water supply, from wells, rivers, and canals, was likely to be polluted. Life expectancy was short, due in part to the high infant mortality. Flies, rodents, and cockroaches were constant pests. Even air pollution was not absent. In addition to dust and offensive odors, the atmosphere was filled with smoke on calm days. Even today, in large preindustrial cities such as Calcutta, the smoke of thousands of cooking fires, in addition to other human activities, produces a definite pall of smoke and dust which seldom dissipates for long. Under these unhealthy conditions, the death rate must have been high in Mesopotamian cities" (Hughes 1975, 31).

During the thousands of years between the agricultural revolution and the next great change in human development, the industrial revolution, global populations gradually grew. From about 5 million during the hunting-gathering era, the population grew to 200-400 million in C.E. 1 and continued to increase until it reached about 470-545 million in C.E. 1650 (U.N. 1973, 10). If this increase in global population is plotted on a graph versus time, the curve is virtually flat with only an imperceptible upward slant for the vast majority of humankind's existence. Within this overall context of smooth, sluggish growth, local variations occurred. Where famine, disease, and war were absent, human numbers increased at a faster rate than the global average. Conversely, areas disproportionately stricken with natural disasters, pestilence, famine, plague, or war suffered a loss of population or experienced a much slower growth rate.

The year C.E. 1650 effectively marks the beginning of the modern era and the birth of the industrial revolution. Until that time, human population was increasing at a rate dwarfed by modern figures: at .04 percent annual growth, the world's population took 1,500 years to double (Ehrlich and Ehrlich 1970, 6). The industrial revolution comprised an interrelated group of revolutions, causing an unprecedented, prolonged, and tremendous surge in growth rates and world population. Revolutions in medicine, energy production, transportation, communication, information, and food production, preservation, and distribution all hitched rides from one another to lift humanity to levels only dreamed of even in the palace of Caesar. The nature, cause, spread, and treatment of disease were discovered and infant mortality began to fall. For the first time people had a fair chance of living their biblically allotted three score and ten years. With longer life expectancies, more people lived through their reproductive years. One expert summarized the factors causing this dramatic population growth: "1. Increased productivity ushered in by the agricultural, commercial, and industrial revolutions resulting in higher levels of living—including better nutrition, better living conditions, and better

health. 2. The emergence of national governments with the elimination of internecine warfare and the emergence of national markets which permitted a more equitable distribution of the nation's produce. 3. Improvements in environmental sanitation and personal hygiene, resulting in uncontaminated food and potable water and a decrease in the probability of infection and contagion. 4. The natural disappearance of some of the agents of disease and death; for example, scarlet fever. 5. The development of modern medicine, climaxed by chemotherapy and the availability of pesticides" (Hauser 1971, 105-107).

Table 2 illustrates various estimates of global annual growth rates and population sizes during these eras. These increases from the .04 percent annual growth rate of the pre-industrial period to .4 and higher beginning in the industrial age resulted primarily from decreased mortality not increased birth rate (Ehrlich and Ehrlich 1970, 9). People continued to reproduce at the same rate as before, at least for a time, but more of their offspring survived to have children of their own. These soaring growth rates translated into an "explosion" in world population. In fact world population would increase more during the second half of the twentieth century than it had done in all previous periods combined (Hauser 1971, 111). According to one scholar, the six-fold increase during the 310 years from 1650 to 1960 "is a phenomenal achievement, which stands in sharp contrast to the situation that must have existed during the many thousands of years of man's existence on the earth before this time. ... In other words, the rapid increase in the world's population began only recently" (Bogue 1969, 47; see also Carr-Saunders 1936, 43, and Cox 1976, 195).

Table 2.
Average Percent Annual Global Growth Rates
(according to source)

Date	U.N.	Smith; Ehrlich	Hauser	Bogue
1650-1750	.4	.3	.3	.34
1750-1800	.4	.5	-	.50
1800-50	.5	.5	.6	.43
1850-1900	.5	.8	-	.68
1900-10	.8	.8	-	.65
1910-20	.8	.8	-	.65
1920-30	.8	.8	-	1.07
1930-40	.8	.8	1.0	1.11
1940-50	.8	.8	-	1.10
1950-60	1.8	1.8	-	1.83
1960-	2.0	1.8	2.0	-

World Population
(in millions)

Date	Population
7000-6000 B.C.E.	5-10
C.E. 1	200-400
1650	470-545
1750	629-961
1800	813-1,125
1850	1,128-1,402
1900	1,550-1,762
1950	2,486
1960	2,982
1965	3,289

These global figures also mask local and regional differences, but these differences are not random. They are the predictable results of particular combinations of local factors (Hauser and Duncan 1959, 389). Greatly accelerated, explosive population growth, the "vital revolution," occurred first among nations experiencing modernization and did not reach significant proportions among the peoples of Asia, Africa, and Latin America (two-thirds of humankind) until after World War II (Hauser 1971, 105). At that point the so-called underdeveloped countries received, virtually instantaneously, the medical advances which had been evolving in the rest of the world. These included inoculation for infectious disease, reduction of malaria through DDT spraying, and the cure of infectious disease through antibiotics (Heer 1975, 13). People in these underdeveloped countries continued to maintain the high birth rate of an agrarian society but suddenly enjoyed the low death rate of the industrialized world. This "death control" produced what has been called "the most rapid, widespread change known in the history of population dynamics" (Ehrlich and Ehrlich 1970, 22).

This change can be seen by comparing annual growth rates for industrialized and developing regions. From 1750 to 1920 industrialized regions as a group had far greater growth rates as mortality rates declined and birth rates remained high. Beginning in the 1920s and increasing after 1940, developing regions outpaced the industrialized areas. For example, from 1940 to 1950 and from 1950 to 1960, industrialized regions grew at .35 percent and 1.26 percent annually. Developing regions expanded at 1.44 percent and 2.07 percent. Prior to 1920 developing regions never had an annual growth rate in excess of .52 percent, but industrialized regions reached peaks of 1.05 percent from 1850 to 1900 and 1.26 percent from 1950 to 1960 (Bogue 1969, 48-49).

One researcher considering the trends described here reached "some indisputable, significant conclusions: 1. Contemporary population growth rates could not possibly have obtained for any long period in the past. 2. Contemporary population growth rates cannot possibly persist for long into the future" (Hauser 1979, 5). And another wrote: "Where formerly less than a half of all children grew to maturity, today, in the advanced countries, nine-tenths reach voting age. But the rate of population growth, which in the past only under very exceptional circumstances ever rose to 2 percent a year (on rare occasions 3 percent for short periods), has now reached the point where these percentages have become the norm for entire continents. At these rates of increase in regions such as tropical Latin America, i.e. at three percent a year or better, we could create enough human protoplasm to cover the surface of the earth in no more than three centuries" (Kaplan and Kivy-Rosenberg 1973, 44-45).

Differences in growth rate exist not only between industrialized and developing regions but also, at least in the short term, between continents within each region and among nations and sub-nations within each continent. Some of these differences reflect differential rates of migration. For this reason, studies of population growth must consider both the rate of natural increase (which includes birth and death rates but excludes migration rates) and the overall growth rate (which includes migration rates). For example, the phenomenal growth rates reported for North America after 1750 are due in large part to the swarms of immigrants arriving from Europe, Africa, and Asia. The population of North America grew at 3.65 percent annually from 1750 to 1800, but the global population increased at only .50 percent and African population actually diminished at .06 percent. Understanding applicable rates of immigration and emigration is thus a key to properly evaluating data about growth (Bogue 1969, 48). Indeed industrialized nations in their entire history have rarely exceeded a natural growth rate of 1 percent annually, even in North America (Hauser 1971, 107-108).

Also, high rates of natural increase have never persisted for more than a century or two. After the huge increase in growth rate spurred by the industrial revolution, more developed nations experienced a "demographic transition" to a lower birth rate and a lower death rate, thereby stabilizing their populations (Smith 1972, 68; Hauser 1971, 107; Ehrlich and Ehrlich 1970, 18-21). With more infants surviving to maturity, it was no longer necessary to bear so many children in order to perpetuate the family. Also the more industrialized and less rural the society, the greater the tendency for children to be economic drains rather than economic assets to the family. Instead of being additional field hands, they are simply more people to feed, clothe, house, and

educate. Over time developed regions thus moved from high birth rates and high death rates to high birth rates and low death rates and finally to low birth rates and low death rates. Thus far underdeveloped regions still maintain their former agrarian birth rates.

Conclusions about population sizes and growth rates are based on estimates, particularly for the periods prior to 1650 (Spiegelman 1955, 417). Even today census information is of questionable accuracy in some parts of the world. Centuries ago the situation was far more uncertain. Historical demographers have pieced together evidence from many sources to arrive at reasonable approximations for various times and places, but we can never know with absolute certainty the actual figures (see Parsons 1971, 25-27; see also Hertlzler 1956, 13).

This does not mean that the estimates are wildly inaccurate. They are of the correct order of magnitude and are within reasonable error limits. According to one scholar, "Population data prior to the modern era are admittedly speculative. But they provide a reasonably sound perspective and permit a very firm conclusion: Whatever his precise numbers may have been, during his habitation of this planet man has experienced a great increase in his rate of growth" (Parsons 1971, 25-27; Fraser 1971, 13-18; Bogue 1969, 47; Pearl 1939, 259; U.N. 1973, 20). Addressing the hypothesis that world population might have been much higher long ago and then decreased prior to the modern era, one authority made the following points: "[T]he combined evidence from paleontology, from the geographical distribution of plants and animals, from ecology and particularly plant ecology, from archaeology, from prehistory, and from history, masses such weight against [the postulate] as to be practically conclusive. In short, all the relevant evidence seems to indicate that there were as many (or more) human beings living on the face of the earth in 1630 as there ever had been at any prior time. ... Most particularly to be counted against [the aforementioned theory] is the fact that until recent times man's culture was not of the sort to make possible the existence of large populations on the earth. Hunting, pastoral, and primitive cultures are not compatible with large total populations ... because high densities cannot be supported at these cultural levels or stages. ... So then we are left with ... a very slow and irregular time rate of growth of world population over a very long time prior to the Middle Ages ... followed by a relatively tremendous spurt of growth not yet ended" (Pearl 1939, 262-63).

The evidence indicates then that the basic trends described above are accurate to the extent that recognized scientific authorities in the field are capable of determining. Based on our knowledge of the time and place in which a people lived, the type of society they had, their degree of exposure to disease, famine, and war, and their level of tech-

nological advancement, we are prepared to estimate their growth rate with a reasonable degree of precision.

Population Projections for Nephite-Lamanite - Mulekite Societies

Mathematical models can simulate the population growth of a human community based on a given percent annual growth rate. Populations grow in the way that money grows in a bank account when interest is compounded. Just as the interest dollars themselves earn interest, so people added to populations reproduce and add more people (Ehrlich and Ehrlich 1970, 9). Although simplifying approximations are feasible, considering human "interest rates" as compounded continuously rather than annually, semi-annually, or quarterly is most accurate. People in any given group reproduce more or less continually throughout the year.

I computed the Nephite-Lamanite population sizes in Table 3 using a commonly accepted formula.[2] For the initial population size, I used thirty people for the combined populations of Lehi's and Mulek's colonizing groups capable of reproduction. As discussed earlier, a figure of twenty or so would be more in line with the information from the scriptures, but I chose thirty so as to allow for the slight possibility that there were more people in these groups than is apparent from the Book of Mormon text. Thus the population sizes in table 3 are probably too large. Readers wishing to convert any of the data in these ta-

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2. The formula for computing the growth of human populations may be written as follows (Ehrlich and Ehrlich 1970, 10):

$N_2=(N_1)(e^{rt})$ (ert)

Where N^1 =the number of reproductive people initially

N^2 =the number of people after t years

e =the base of natural logarithms, approximately 2.718

r =the growth rate per year, expressed as a decimal, where 100r = the growth rate as a percent

t =the number of years elapsed between the initial measuring time and the final measuring time

This formula assumes that all people in the initial population are capable of reproducing. It further assumes that no internal restrictions to mating with any other member of the population exists. If a given population forbids or restricts marriage with close relatives, then the growth of the population will be slower than indicated by the formula. The approximate doubling time for a population may be obtained by dividing 69.31 years by the growth rate (in percent). As an example of how to read the data, assume you want to know the population size fifty years after arrival, given an annual growth rate of 1.0 percent. Find 50 in the left hand "Years Elapsed" column; you will see this corresponds to 540 B.C.E. Then follow this line to the 1.0 percent annual growth rate column for the answer: 49 people.

bles to reflect a different initial population size may easily do so.[3] The numbers in the table are also slightly higher than they should be because Mulek's group did not arrive in the New World until several years after the Lehi contingent and thus got a late start. However, in the interest of simplicity, I assume Mulek's group as well as Lehi's began reproducing in the New World in the year 590 B.C.E.

I selected the various percent annual growth rates for several reasons. I chose .04 percent because it is the approximate growth rate prevailing in the world between the agricultural revolution (about 8,000 years B.C.E.) and the industrial revolution (around C.E. 1650). Thus it represents the average annual global rate of natural increase during the actual period in which the Nephite-Lamanite population was reproducing. All other growth rates in table 3 are rates from the modern world. From C.E. 1750 to 1850 the world average was about .5 percent, more than ten times greater than the pre-industrial rate. The remainder of the rates, from .9 percent to 2 percent, are rates known only in very recent history, primarily in the post-World War II era. They are included here to illustrate the difference between late-twentieth-century rates of population increase and the rates for all the preceding years of human history.

Finally the population figures in Table 3 represent the total reproductive-age number of all Book of Mormon peoples during the years indicated. Nephites, Lamanites, Mulekites, and all other "-ites" are combined, again for sake of convenience, because they are all assumed to have descended from the Lehi and Mulek pioneers. I assume an equal rate of natural increase for all groups, although significant differences in Nephite and Lamanite cultures and lifestyles exist for much of the period in question.

Demographic Ramifications

The results contained in Table 3 call for a reevaluation of our approach to the Book of Mormon. When these data are compared with the population information from Table 1 and our knowledge of historical demography, it is apparent that large numbers of Book of Mormon peoples could not have been produced from the tiny Lehi-Mulek colonizing groups. No growth rate even close to the rate of increase prevalent from 590 B.C.E. to C.E. 390 would have produced the popu-

3. Simply divide the population size indicated in the table by thirty, then multiply by however many people it is desired to assume for the initial population size. For example, to see how many reproductive-age people would have existed 360 years after landing in the New World (230 B.C.E.), assuming an annual growth rate of .5 percent and an initial population size of twenty rather than thirty, divide the figure from table 3 (which is 181) by thirty (yielding 6.03), and then multiply this result by twenty (6.03 x 20 = 121 people).

Table 3.
Total Population Size

Years Elapsed/	(% annual growth rate)										
Date	.04	0.5	0.9	1.0	1.1	1.2	1.3	1.4	1.5	1.8	2.0
10/580 B.C.E.	30	32	33	33	33	34	34	35	35	36	37
20/570	30	33	36	37	37	38	39	40	40	43	45
30/560	30	34	39	40	42	43	44	46	47	51	55
40/550	30	37	43	45	47	48	50	53	55	62	67
50/540	31	39	47	49	52	55	57	60	64	74	82
60/530	31	40	51	55	58	62	65	69	74	88	100
70/520	31	43	56	60	65	69	75	80	86	106	122
80/510	31	45	62	67	72	78	85	92	100	127	149
90/500	31	47	67	74	81	88	97	106	116	152	181
100/490	31	49	74	82	90	100	110	122	134	181	222
110/480	31	52	81	90	101	112	125	140	156	217	271
120/470	31	55	88	100	112	127	143	161	181	260	331
130/460	32	57	97	110	125	143	163	185	211	311	404
140/450	32	60	106	122	140	161	185	213	245	373	493
150/440	32	64	116	134	156	181	211	245	285	446	603
160/430	32	67	127	149	174	205	240	282	331	534	736
170/420	32	70	139	164	195	231	273	324	384	640	899
180/410	32	74	152	181	217	260	311	373	446	766	1,098
190/400	32	78	166	201	243	293	355	429	519	917	1,341
200/390	32	82	181	222	271	331	404	493	603	1,098	1,638
210/380	33	86	199	245	302	373	460	567	700	1,314	2,001
220/370	33	90	217	271	337	420	524	653	813	1,574	2,444
230/360	33	95	238	299	377	474	597	751	945	1,884	2,985
240/350	33	100	260	331	420	534	679	864	1,098	2,256	3,645
250/340	33	105	285	365	469	603	774	993	1,276	2,701	4,452
260/330	33	110	311	404	524	679	881	1,143	1,482	3,233	5,438
270/320	33	116	341	446	585	766	1,003	1,314	1,722	3,871	6,642
280/310	34	122	373	493	653	864	1,143	1,512	2,001	4,634	8,813
290/300	34	128	408	545	729	974	1,301	1,739	2,324	5,548	9,909

300/290	34	134	446	603	813	1,098	1,482	2,001	2,701	6,642	12,103
310/280	34	141	488	666	908	1,238	1,688	2,301	3,138	7,952	14,782
320/270	34	149	534	736	1,014	1,396	1,922	2,647	3,645	9,520	18,055
330/260	34	156	585	813	1,131	1,574	2,189	3,045	4,235	11,398	22,053
340/250	34	164	640	899	1,263	1,774	2,493	3,502	4,921	13,646	26,935
350/240	35	173	700	993	1,410	2,001	2,839	4,029	5,717	16,337	32,899
360/230	35	181	766	1,098	1,574	2,256	3,233	4,634	6,642	19,559	40,183
370/220	35	191	838	1,213	1,757	2,543	3,682	5,330	7,717	23,417	49,080
380/210	35	201	917	1,341	1,961	2,868	4,193	6,132	8,966	28,035	59,946
390/200	35	211	1,003	1,482	2,189	3,233	4,775	7,053	10,417	33,564	73,218
400/190	35	222	1,098	1,638	2,444	3,645	5,438	8,113	12,103	40,183	89,429
410/180	35	233	1,201	1,810	2,728	4,110	6,193	9,332	14,062	48,108	109,229
420/170	35	245	1,314	2,001	3,045	4,634	7,053	10,734	16,337	57,595	133,412
430/160	36	258	1,438	2,211	3,399	5,225	8,032	12,347	18,981	68,954	162,950
440/150	36	271	1,574	2,444	3,794	5,891	9,147	14,203	22,053	82,553	199,027
450/140	36	285	1,722	2,701	4,235	6,642	10,417	16,337	25,622	98,834	243,093
460/130	36	299	1,884	2,985	4,728	7,489	11,863	18,792	29,768	118,326	296,914
470/120	36	315	2,062	3,298	5,277	8,444	13,510	21,616	34,586	141,662	362,651
480/110	36	331	2,256	3,645	5,891	9,520	15,386	24,865	40,183	169,600	442,943
490/100	36	348	2,468	4,029	6,576	10,734	17,522	28,601	46,686	203,048	541,012
500/90	37	365	2,701	4,452	7,341	12,103	19,954	32,899	54,241	243,093	660,794
510/80	37	384	2,955	4,921	8,194	13,646	22,724	37,843	63,019	291,035	807,096
520/70	37	404	3,233	5,438	9,147	15,386	25,879	43,530	73,218	348,432	985,789
530/60	37	425	3,538	6,010	10,211	17,347	29,472	50,071	85,067	417,148	1,204,045
540/50	37	446	3,871	6,642	11,398	19,559	33,564	57,595	98,834	499,417	1,470,624
550/40	37	469	4,235	7,341	12,723	22,053	38,223	66,250	114,829	597,911	1,796,224
560/30	38	493	4,634	8,113	14,203	24,865	43,530	76,206	133,412	715,830	2,193,913
570/20	38	519	5,071	8,966	15,854	28,035	49,573	87,658	155,003	857,004	2,679,652
580/10	38	545	5,548	9,909	17,698	31,609	56,455	100,831	180,087	1,026,020	3,272,934
590/C.E.	38	573	6,071	10,951	19,756	35,639	64,292	115,983	209,232	1,228,368	3,997,571
600/10	38	603	6,642	12,103	22,053	40,183	73,218	133,412	243,093	1,470,624	4,882,644
610/20	38	633	7,268	13,376	24,617	45,306	83,383	153,460	282,433	1,760,657	5,963,675
620/30	38	666	7,952	14,782	27,480	51,083	94,959	176,521	328,141	2,107,889	7,284,049
630/40	39	700	8,701	16,337	30,675	57,595	108,142	203,048	381,245	2,523,601	8,896,757
980/390	44	4,029	203,048	541,012	1,441,504	3,840,824	10,233,706	27,267,263	72,652,429	1,374,300,000	9,756,500,000

lation sizes described in the scriptures, even if there had been no wars, famine, earthquakes, or disease.

Consider the battle in 187 B.C.E. in which 3,043 Lamanites and 279 of Zeniff's people were slain in a single day and night (Mosiah 9:18-19). Obviously the total Book of Mormon population at that time was much larger than 3,322 because numerous warriors were left alive after the battle as were women and male noncombatants. But even to produce a total population as large as the fatality figures for this one day would have required an average annual growth rate of 1.2 percent during the preceding four centuries. To put this in perspective, a growth rate of 1.2 percent was never achieved on a global basis or in the industrialized regions of the world as a whole until C.E. 1950-60 and was not reached in the developing regions as a whole until the 1930s (Bogue 1969, 48-49). The Nephite-Lehite rate is thirty times the rate that existed in the world as a whole during the same era. Moreover if, as is far more likely, the total population in 187 B.C.E. was in excess of 35,000, it would have taken an average annual growth rate of 1.8 percent to multiply the original thirty pioneers to that level at that time. This is a rate that has never been reached in the industrialized world and has only been achieved in the world overall since 1950 (see Table 2).

A second example only confirms the problems associated with Book of Mormon population figures. For the Amlicite-Nephite war of 87 B.C.E., Alma 2:17-19 reports a total of 19,094 fatalities. On the basis of these figures John Sorenson estimated the total Nephite-Lamanite population to be over 600,000 at that time (about 200,000 Nephites-Amlicites and over 400,000 Lamanites). For an original band of thirty reproductive individuals in 590 B.C.E. to proliferate even to 19,094 by 87 B.C.E. would require an average annual growth rate of 1.3 percent sustained over the span of five centuries. To reach the 600,000 level Sorenson determined to have existed at that point, the growth rate would have had to be 2 percent, again maintained for five centuries. This is a level never reached on a global scale until C.E. 1960 and fifty times the actual world rate of the pre-industrial epoch. It is a rate that, even when attained, can only persist briefly (Hauser 1979, 5; Smith 1972, 68; Ehrlich and Ehrlich 1970, 18-21).

Less specific information from the scriptures also produces some startling results when viewed in the light of data from Table 3. For example, Nephites and Lamanites had already waged wars against one another by 560 B.C.E. (2 Ne. 5:34). Even if the original colonists had been multiplying at the unheard-of-rate of 2 percent annually, the total number of reproductive-age Nephite and Lamanite men and women alive in 560 B.C.E. would have been a mere fifty-five. If half of those fifty-five people were women and some of the males were too old, too young, or too infirm to fight or were occupied with agriculture or

other tasks, then the total number of combatants on both sides in these "wars" must have been fewer than twenty.

Similarly, between 588 and 570 B.C.E., Nephi and his people constructed a replica of Solomon's temple (2 Ne. 5:16). By 570 B.C.E., the total reproductive-age Nephite-Lamanite population would have been forty-five people, even at the C.E. 1960 growth rate of 2 percent. If about half of these were Nephites, fewer than two dozen people—including people busy with farming or hunting, infirm persons, and pregnant women—were available to build a structure that required large numbers of skilled workers and a great deal of time in the Old World.

These last two issues were noted as long ago as 1887 by M. T. Lamb. Without benefit of modern demographic methods, he intuited problems with the rapid growth and major accomplishments of the Nephites and Lamanites at such an early stage in their colonizing efforts. Although his writings bear scant evidence of objectivity, he identified significant problems which have been overlooked by many others. Lamb commented on the improbability of their early division into two nations complete with kings, success in subduing the forests, becoming wealthy in flocks and herds, constructing buildings, and working in wood and metals.

If the Lehi-Mulek groups reproduced at the .04 percent average annual rate which prevailed in the world as a whole during their era, they would have numbered only fifty-four individuals in C.E. 390, 980 years after they landed. As discussed earlier, population growth by modern standards was virtually nonexistent during those thousands of years between the invention of agriculture and the dawning of the industrial period. It took well over a thousand years for the world's population to double during that era. This seems counter-intuitive to us who have known nothing but the population explosion during our lifetime, but the evidence is clear. Rapid population growth is a recent phenomenon (see Bogue 1969, 47; Hauser 1971, 111; Carr-Saunders 1936, 43; Cox 1976, 195).

Another way of viewing the same principle is to note what would have happened had the thirty people of Lehi-Mulek multiplied at 2 percent annually. Those thirty individuals would have exploded into 9,756,500,000 people by the time of the Nephites' destruction in C.E. 390—double the total population of the planet earth today. Such a rate of growth has only existed very recently and only for very short spans of time. It cannot continue for long.

Could such a twentieth-century rate of growth have prevailed in the region inhabited by the Nephite-Lamanite peoples, even though humans in the rest of the world were increasing at much slower rates? We know that growth rates vary regionally and that such variation has existed throughout history. Since the global growth rate is an average,

clearly some regions have a higher-than-average rate of increase and others lag behind or even decrease. Perhaps Book of Mormon peoples "multiplied exceedingly" at a rate thirty to fifty times the world average. There are several ways in which such a supercharged growth rate might have been achieved.

First, the people may have been divinely spared from death due to disease and thus achieved reduced mortality rates equivalent to those brought about by modern medicine. Alma 9:22 speaks of the blessings the Nephites received from the Lord, including being "saved from famine, and from sickness, and all manner of diseases of every kind." Alma 46:40-41 mentions "some who died with fevers, which at some seasons of the year were very frequent in the land," but indicates that others were preserved "because of the excellent qualities of the many plants and roots which God had prepared to remove the cause of diseases, to which men were subject by the nature of the climate." In fact "there were many who died with old age."

However, this blessing is only specifically mentioned in connection with the Nephites, not the Lamanites. Also as Alma 46:40 states, this blessing was not a panacea; some did die of fevers (see Jacob 2:19; Alma 1:27, 30; 3 Ne. 17:7-9; 7:22; 26:15; 4 Ne. 1:5). And although the blessing also states that they were saved from famine, there were several deadly famines during this era (see Mosiah 1:17; 9:3; Alma 53:7; 62:35, 39; Hel. 11:4-8, 12-15; 12:2-3). Thus while there may have been some divine intervention to spare the Nephites and Lamanites from destruction and "prolong their existence in the land," neither group was in any way spared the normal and natural consequences of living in the ancient world, where herbal remedies were their best hope and modern vaccines, antibiotics, and antiseptics were unknown.

A second possibility is that Book of Mormon peoples were extremely advanced, in essence a twentieth-century culture complete with myriad technological advances enabling modern growth rates to prevail. There is virtually no scriptural basis for this other than the mention of "machinery" in Jarom 1:8. Still it is possible their technological innovations were so commonplace they were never mentioned.

There are problems with this theory as well. For example, even the more advanced Nephites had only an agricultural society. They raised crops, kept herds of domesticated animals, and were able to build many cities, but there are no indications of heavy agricultural equipment, mass-production, rapid transportation/communication, engines, or anything of that nature (see 2 Ne. 5:11; Jarom 1:8; Enos 1:21; Mosiah 9:9; 10:4, 21; 21:16; Alma 62:29; Hel. 6:12; 3 Ne. 3:22). All of the information in these scriptures is consistent with the proposition that the Nephites were only as advanced as other contemporary cultures. Thus there is no reason to presume that their growth rate was signifi-

cantly higher than the .04 percent typical of such societies.

Even if Nephites were relatively advanced, the more numerous Lamanites were not. If Nephite descriptions of their enemies are not totally distorted by bias and are even close to accurate, Lamanites were a primitive, nomadic, hunting/gathering society for much of their history. Enos 1:20 states that Lamanites dwelled in tents, fed upon beasts of prey, wandered about in the wilderness and that many of them ate nothing but raw meat. This description is juxtaposed to the observation in the next verse that Nephites tilled the land and raised grain, fruit, and domesticated animals. Similarly 2 Nephi 5:22-24 labels Lamanites an idle people who "did seek in the wilderness for beasts of prey" (see also Jarom 1:6; Alma 17:14-15; Mosiah 9:12; Hel. 3:16). To the extent these scriptures are correct, Lamanites lived in a pre-agricultural society for hundreds of years after their arrival in the New World. Although they eventually began to inhabit some cities (Alma 23:2-15), significant numbers of Lamanites still "lived in the wilderness," and "dwelt in tents" even as late as 77 B.C.E. (22:28). This is important, because pre-agricultural peoples have a growth rate much lower than the .04 percent of pre-industrial agricultural societies. Recall that Parsons and others estimated the rate of natural increase of such peoples at .001 percent annually and calculated that societies dependent on hunting and gathering for their food require one-to-two square miles of space per person (see Parsons 1971, 33; Miller 1985, 88-91; Ehrlich and Ehrlich 1970, 6; Smith 1972, 67; Bates 1955, 27). Such imperceptible growth rates and sparse population densities contrast with the numerous hosts of Lamanites frequently described in the Book of Mormon. Thus even a .04 percent growth rate is too high given that more than half of the Nephite-Lamanite population lived under pre-agricultural conditions.

Again Lamb, though biased, spotted this problem back in 1887: "The history of all civilizations clearly shows that a savage or barbarous state is least of all adapted to a rapid increase of population. The Indian races of our country have been gradually dimishing [sic] ever since they were first discovered. There is nothing in the habits and surroundings of untutored wild races to encourage developement [sic] and growth. Civilized and Christian nations only have shown a rapid increase of population. But the Book of Mormon directly reverses this lesson of the ages. The statement ... that the Lamanites had become wild and ferocious and filthy, wandering about in the wilderness, naked and feeding upon uncooked beasts of prey, is immediately followed ... by the statement that they had 'become *exceedingly more numerous* than were they of the Nephites.' [And later] they are more than double the combined populations of the Nephites and the people of Zarahemla!" (Lamb 1887, 130-31)

A third possible theory for abnormally high Nephite-Lamanite growth rates is that Book of Mormon peoples, like antediluvians mentioned in Genesis, lived to extremely old ages and were able to reproduce for many more years than ordinary humans. Again there is almost no scriptural foundation for this hypothesis other than some lifespans apparently in excess of 100 years as obliquely mentioned in 4 Nephi (Ludlow 1978, 295-96). On the contrary, even Jesus' New World disciples were only allotted seventy-two years (3 Ne. 28:3). And Mosiah 29:45-46 states that Alma the elder lived to be eighty-two, while Mosiah died at age sixty-three. Nowhere else is there any information pertaining to unusually lengthy lifespans; without such evidence it is difficult to give much weight to this theory.[4]

Finally, it is conceivable that the ancient Americans reproduced at an accelerated pace due to the interventions of God. However, there is no evidence for miraculous procreation in the Book of Mormon. It is reasonable to expect that if there was a dramatic surge in the incidence of multiple births, a shortening of the gestation period, or a prolongation of the female reproductive years, the Book of Mormon would have mentioned it. Instead all we find is the standard scriptural phrase "multiply exceedingly and wax strong." To suggest without other evidence that this signifies divinely enhanced biological propagation does not seem justified.

Table 4.
Wars of the Nephite-Lamanite Era

560 B.C.E.	Wars already within 40 years after leaving Jerusalem (2 Ne. 5:34)
544-421	Lamanites continually seek to destroy Nephites; wars (Enos 1:20, 24)
	Lamanites delight in wars and bloodshed, seek by power of arms to destroy Nephites continually (Jacob 7:24)
420-361	Many times Lamanites battle Nephites (Jarom 1:7)
	In 238 years, wars and contentions for the space of much of the time (Jarom 1:13-14)
323	Nephites and Lamanites have many seasons of serious war and bloodshed (Omni 1:3)
279	The more wicked part of the Nephites are destroyed (Omni 1:5)
279-130	Much war between Nephites and Lamanites (Omni 1:10)

4. Some Jaredites experienced inordinate longevity (Ether 7:7, 26; 9:14, passim). But there is not the slightest hint that longevity was shared by the Lehites or Mulekites.

	Many wars among Mulekites (Omni 1:17)
	Serious war, much bloodshed with King Benjamin's army, many thousands of enemy slain (Omni 1:24; W of M 1:13-14)
187	War between Zeniff's army and Lamanites; 3,043 Lamanites and 279 of Zeniff's men killed in one day and night (Mosiah 9:18)
178-60	Zeniff's army kills too many Lamanites to count (Mosiah 10:20)
145-22	Lamanites defeat Limhi's people (Mosiah 20:9-11; 21:2, 7-8, 11-12)
90-77	Lamanites war against Anti-Nephi-Lehis, kill 1,005 (Alma 24:20-22, 28)
	War, many battles, including destruction of Ammonihah (Alma 25:1-8)
	Lamanites slay Anti-Nephi-Lehis (Alma 27:1-4)
87	Many thousands slain in Nephite-Amlicite-Lamanite war (Alma 2:17-19, 27, 38; 3:1, 23, 26)
81	Lamanites kill people of Ammonihah, Zoram defeats Lamanites (Alma 16:2-3, 8-9, 11)
76	Tremendous battle, largest since Lehi left Jerusalem; tens of thousands of Lamanites slain and scattered by Nephites (Alma 28:2-3, 10-12)
74-73	Nephite-Lamanite war (Alma 43:3-5, 37-39, 41-44; 44:21-23)
72	Nephite-Lamanite wars never cease for the space of many years (Alma 48:22)
	Immense slaughter, over 1,000 Lamanites killed (Alma 49:21)
	More battle with Lamanites (Alma 50:7)
67	Moroni's army defeats Morianton's (Alma 50:26, 35)
	4,000 Nephite dissenters slain (Alma 51:10-11, 17-20, 22-28)
66-64	Nephite-Lamanite war, much bloodshed (Alma 52:4-7, 25, 34-35; 56:13)
64	Stripling warriors slay Lamanites (Alma 56:54)
63	Nephite-Lamanite battles (Alma 57:6-9, 23-28)
62	Lamanites slay many at Nephihah (Alma 59:7)
61-60	Exceedingly great length of Nephite-Lamanite war, more slaughter (Alma 62:15, 25-26, 35, 38-39, 41)
53	Another Nephite-Lamanite war, great loss (Alma 63:14-15)
51	Lamanite army of Coriantumr wars with Nephites (Hel. 1:14-15, 19-20, 25-32)
35-31	Long Nephite-Lamanite war, much slaughter (Hel. 4:5-11, 13, 17)
20-19	Civil war for 2 years among Nephites (Hel. 10:18; 11:1-2)
12-11	War against robbers (Hel. 11:24-29, 30-33)
C.E. 13-15	War with robbers throughout all the land, many slain

	and cities laid waste, Nephites threatened with uer destruction (3 Ne. 2:11-13, 17-19)
18-22	War against robbers, greatest slaughter since Lehleft Jerusalem; tens of thousands of robbers slain (3 Ne 4:1, 5, 11, 21) Huge Nephite army (3 Ne 3:22, 24)
322	Nephite-Lamanite war, 30,000 in Nephite army, many slain (Morm. 1:8-11)
326-30	Nephite-Lamanite war (Morm. 2:1-5, 8-9)
345	Nephite-Lamanite war (Morm. 2:16)
346	Nephite army of 30,000; Lamanite army of 50,000 (Morm. 2:25-26)
360-62	Nephite-Lamanite war (Morm. 3:1, 4-9)
363-67	Thousands slain on both sides in war (Morm. 4:1-, 7-11, 13-16)
375-80	Exceedingly great slaughter (Morm. 4:16-23; 5:4-9
385	Final immense slaughter of Nephites, 230,000 killd in battle (Morm. 6:10-15)
401	Lamanites war with themselves (Morm. 8:8)

Indeed Book of Mormon peoples may well have had a lower than normal rate of growth. Certainly the nomadic hunting/gathemg Lamanite culture should have had a low rate of natural increase, and the virtually omnipresent war described in the Book of Mormon would also have been a powerful population retardant. Table 4 sumnarizes the many bloody conflicts of Book of Mormon people. Until tle generations immediately following Jesus' visit to the New Worlc, there was virtually no respite from the horrors of war. War hampers population growth in several ways, not simply in the obvious sense that some combatants are killed. As one scholar has written: "Direct nilitary losses represent but a small part of the effects of war on population growth. ... Most of the men killed in war are comparatively young. ... This means that the number of couples which were of the age to have children in the generation following the war was considerably reduced by reason of this shortage of men. ... A third source of loss in population growth arising from war is the reduction in the births during the war below what could reasonably have been expected had there been no war. ... The chief point to bear in mind is that the effects of war on population growth over a period of several decades are by no means measured adequately by military losses; such losses are small compared with those arising from the reduction in births to be expected as a result of the disturbances of war" (Thompson 1944, 75-78).

Moreover actual combat losses hardly tell the whole story of fatalities caused by war. As one scholar has pointed out, ancillary deaths may equal or exceed deaths on the battlefield: "Prolonged warfare ...

though it might kill comparatively few men by the sword, might decimate populations nonetheless. Armies harbored many diseases, notably typhus and venereal diseases, and as they moved about could spread them through wide tracts of country. In addition war took men off the land and in doing so reduced the production of food much as a bad harvest might. And war meant heavy taxes which took money away from those most in need of it to tide them over a poor harvest" (Wrigley 1969, 64).

These war-related side effects are well known and have plagued humanity throughout the ages. In fact during World War I death because of lowered resistance to disease and lowered birth rate because of enforced separation of married couples affected population as significantly as the direct casualties of war (Cox 1976, 180). As the U.N. report has explained, far from being a simple matter of life or death, war is a powerful and complex phenomenon: "Although war has been an important population check throughout man's history, its precise effects on mortality have been exceedingly difficult to measure. Deaths among military personnel may occur on the battlefield, later on as a result of wounds received during combat, or from war-associated deprivation and disease. Most wars have also caused heavy civilian casualties indirectly through disease carried by armies, plunder, famine following the laying waste of agricultural lands, and other hardships accompanying social and economic disorganization" (U.N. 1973, 144).

The Book of Mormon specifically mentions some of these ancillary effects of war on the Nephite-Lamanite peoples. Alma 3:2 states that "many women and children had been slain with the sword, and also many of their flocks and their herds; and also many of their fields of grain were destroyed, for they were trodden down by the hosts of men." Similarly Alma 4:2 discusses "the loss of their flocks and herds, and also ... the loss of their fields of grain, which were trodden underfoot and destroyed by the Lamanites." And Alma 62:35, 39 speak of the famine that had been caused by the prolonged Nephite-Lamanite conflict. At least during this portion of Book of Mormon history, the usual side effects of war firmly gripped the people.

In contrast to the weakly supported theories of an accelerated Nephite-Lamanite growth rate, there is considerable evidence for the retardant effects of war. The long, virtually uninterrupted record of costly, destructive, devastating wars among the descendants of the Lehi and Mulek pioneers argues strongly against a higher than normal growth rate for these peoples. The more likely result of these continual slaughters was just the opposite: greatly reduced growth rates or even extinction.

For example, the impact of the 19,094 warriors slain in the Amlicite-Nephite battle of 87 B.C.E. would have been considerable (see

Sorenson 1985, 193). Most of these men were probably still fairly young and thus had not yet completed or even begun their families. No matter how rapidly their numbers had been growing, the loss of so many males capable of reproduction would have caused the birth rate to plunge for many years. Many thousands of babies would not have been born to the next generation. Neither would these never-born children have the chance to reproduce. And this battle, bloody as it was, was scarcely unique. Just a decade later in 76 B.C.E., an even larger battle took place in which "tens of thousands of Lamanites were slain" (Alma 28:2-3, 10-12). And in C.E. 18-22 a still greater slaughter was visited upon the people with additional tens of thousands killed (3 Ne. 4:1, 5, 11, 21).

Not just once or twice but repeatedly and "continually" (Enos 1:20; Jacob 7:24), these tiny bands of immigrants, who must have been struggling to carve out an existence in a hostile, unfamiliar wilderness, were stricken with the effects of war. With initial populations so small, the very existence of their societies was precarious even under ideal conditions. One epidemic or natural disaster could have caused their extinction during their first centuries in the New World. Even at a then unheard-of growth rate of 2 percent annually, the total number of Book of Mormon peoples would have been a mere 2,000 in 380 B.C.E. But when we add the destructive impact of war to the other problems facing these pioneers, the most they could have hoped for was survival. No group of people can maintain even a moderately high growth rate over a period of centuries scarred by a constant succession of wars. The Nephite-Lamanite story is one of relentless conflict; the scriptures allow for only brief and infrequent periods of peace and recovery before the next war. Book of Mormon peoples could never have sustained a high growth rate under such conditions.

In addition, the populations also experienced some reductions due to emigration. Alma 63:4-10 describes 5,400 Nephite men who together with their wives and children emigrated north; many others were lost in similar emigration attempts (see Hel. 3:3-5, 12). The loss of these groups must be considered when evaluating the population size of the people left behind (for example, vv. 24-26). Unless and until these emigrating groups rejoined the main populace, they were subtracted from the reproductive base just as if they had been fatalities.

Lastly the devastating upheavals, earthquakes, and floods taking place in C.E. 34 at the time of Jesus' crucifixion would have had an enormous dysgenic impact on the population for the remainder of Book of Mormon history. As described in 3 Nephi 8-10, many entire cities were utterly destroyed, essentially setting back the population hundreds of years. The survivors would have faced formidable challenges even feeding themselves after the disasters because of the loss

of crops, livestock, and means of transportation. The ensuing generations of long-denied peace would have scarcely begun to restore the populace to its previous level. In this context, the number of Nephite warriors slain in battle in C.E. 385—230,000—is highly improbable.

Further, it is impossible that the ancient authors of the scriptural record simply exaggerated their reports. Such hyperbole would require exaggeration thirty to fifty times the actual figures. A biased author might double or even triple data, but a multiplication of this magnitude is outright falsification. In addition, this penchant for population inflation would need to span centuries. There is no reason to presume that the Americans of old had a culturally inculcated multiplication factor which they used whenever recording population figures for their sacred history. Book of Mormon contributors seem to have been capable of using numbers accurately. To argue that the numerous Book of Mormon population figures cited in this essay are uniformly wrong, and in several instances wrong by a factor of thirty to fifty, opens an entirely new Pandora's Box of difficulties.

The Book of Mormon is the sacred record of a religious people written for the most part by their religious leaders. These were holy men engaged in a holy mission. They cherished their history and endured great hardships to preserve it. Nephi killed Laban to obtain the sacred record of the Jews for his group (1 Ne. 3:3-11; 4:7-18). Nephi was commanded by the Lord to make his own record and use it to instruct his people (2 Ne. 5:30-32). And throughout Book of Mormon history, the preparation and safeguarding of the record was regarded as a solemn obligation and a direct commandment from God (see Morm. 5:12; 8:16; Ether 2:11; Alma 37:2; and Jacob 1:1-2, 4). There is no indication that the devout ecclesiastical authorities who wrote these accounts would have exaggerated, distorted, or in any way misrepresented the truth. On the contrary, they were doing God's work and strove to be as accurate as possible.

Thus the proposition that the unrealistically large population sizes reported in the Book of Mormon are merely the product of scriptural hyperbole is insupportable. It is contrary to the evidence and to any reasonable interpretation of the scriptures.

Apologetic and Critical Results

All of these factors taken together tend to argue against the population sizes reported in the Book of Mormon. We must confront this problem head-on, seeking explanations that fit the evidence. Some have suggested the problem is solved by considering the actual descendants of the Lehi and Mulek groups as only a tiny fraction of the total population described in the Book of Mormon. "True" Nephites

and Lamanites may have interacted with indigenous native groups, becoming their religious and/or political leaders by virtue of their more advanced culture. The authors of the Book of Mormon may have chosen not to mention these aboriginal peoples out of an ethnocentric penchant to focus only on the "chosen people." The others might have been important only as "extras" in the grand drama orchestrated by the Hebraic elite. In this way, the enormous populations described in the scriptures may be accurate but not as direct biological progeny from those two tiny clusters of immigrants.

BYU professors emeritus John Sorenson and Hugh Nibley have discussed this possibility in some detail. Both seem inclined to view the Book of Mormon as a record of a relatively small, insular group of religious and political leaders. They feel that this explains various difficulties, including the dark skin of the Lamanites (see also Palmer 1981, 64-66). Sorenson has written: "The answer may be that the Lamanites in the original immigrant group became dominant over a native population of folk already scattered on the land when Lehi arrived. As far as the Nephites were concerned, those subject folk would have been treated the same as the original Lamanites, even if some physical or cultural differences between them were apparent. ... The fervid ambition of Laman and Lemuel to be rulers would have driven them to try to dominate not only the Nephites ... but anybody else who happened to be around. Latter-day Saints are not used to the idea that other people than Lehi's immediate descendants were on the Book of Mormon scene. Abundant evidence from archaeological and linguistic studies assures us that such people were indeed present, so we need to understand how the Book of Mormon account accommodates that fact" (1985, 146; see also 1992a).

Although Sorenson argues that the Lamanites assimilated the aboriginal people (but see Sorenson 1992b, 32), Nibley maintains that the Nephites and Lamanites shared the New World with them without any knowledge of their existence. This, of course, is of no help in explaining Book of Mormon population sizes: "And just as the Book of Mormon offers no objections whatever to the free movement of whatever tribes and families choose to depart into regions beyond its ken, so it presents no obstacles to the arrival of whatever other bands may have occupied the hemisphere without its knowledge; for hundreds of years the Nephites shared the continent with the far more numerous Jaredites, of whose existence they were totally unaware. Strictly speaking, the Book of Mormon is the history of a group of sectaries preoccupied with their own religious affairs, who only notice the presence of other groups when they have reason to mingle or collide with them. ... There is nothing whatever in the Book of Mormon to indicate that everything that is found in the New World before Columbus must be

either Nephite or Lamanite" (1988, 218-19).

On the other hand, B. H. Roberts (1857-1933), one of the seven presidents of the Seventy, apparently believed that the Book of Mormon itself foreclosed this theory. Arguing against the similar proposition that the Lehi/Mulek people only occupied a small part of the Americas while indigenous groups proliferated nearby, Roberts wrote: "To this answer there would be the objection that if such other races or tribes existed then the Book of Mormon is silent about them. Neither the people of Mulek nor the people of Lehi ... nor any of their descendants ever came in contact with any such people, so far as the Book of Mormon account of it is concerned. As for the Jaredites, they are out of the reckoning in this matter ... since their language and their culture, as active factors, perished with their extinction. Any beyond them, so far as a more ancient possession of the American continents is concerned, by previous inhabitants, ... [is] barred probably by the Book of Ether statement that the people of Jared were to go 'into that quarter where there had never man been,' and nowhere is there any statement or intimation in the Book of Mormon that the people of Jared ever came in contact with any other people upon the land of America, save for the contact of the last survivor of the race with the people of Mulek, which does not affect at all the matters here under discussion" (1985, 92-93).

As Roberts indicates, given the detailed presentation in the Book of Mormon's early historical narratives, mention of pre-existing native people could be expected if they in fact were present. Neither does Nibley's theory of separate, independent, parallel cultures explain in any way the inflated Nephite-Lamanite population levels. Sorenson's massive interaction with and incorporation of the native people would be necessary to bring the Nephite-Lamanite numbers up to the magnitude described in the Book of Mormon.

Not withstanding Sorenson's (1992b) imaginative musings, the scriptures are not only silent about such events; they in fact contradict Sorenson's theory of preexisting native populations. Lehi prophesied about the promised land to which his people would emigrate: "And behold, it is wisdom that *this land should be kept as yet from the knowledge of other nations*; for behold, many nations would overrun the land, that there would be no place for an inheritance. Wherefore, I, Lehi, have obtained a promise, that inasmuch as those whom the Lord God shall bring out of the land of Jerusalem shall keep his commandments, they shall prosper upon the face of this land; and *they shall be kept from all other nations, that they may possess this land unto themselves.* ... and there shall be none to molest them, nor to take away the land of their inheritance; and they shall dwell safely forever" (2 Ne. 1:8-9; emphasis added).

Other nations would be allowed to discover Lehi's descendants

and their land at a time far off in the future: "But behold, when the time cometh that they shall dwindle in unbelief, after they have received so great blessings from the hand of the Lord ... [and] God ... will bring other nations unto them, and he will give unto them power, and he will take away from them the lands of their possessions, and he will cause them to be scattered and smitten" (2 Ne. 1:10-11).

Thus Lehi and his group left for a new world kept by the Lord from all others. The Book of Mormon mentions no interaction with others because the Lord, keeping his promise to Lehi, had kept other groups out. The "other nations" who would eventually be brought to the land after the decline of Lehi's people are clearly identified as the latter-day Gentiles who would scatter and smite the remnants of the Lehites (cf. 2 Ne. 1:10-11 with 1 Ne. 13:12-14, 33-34; 22:7-8; 2 Ne. 10-18; 26:15, 19; 3 Ne. 16:4, 8-9; 20:27-28; 21:2; Morm. 5:9, 15, 19-20). Not until Columbus would "other nations" enter the land of Lehi's people, long after the last chapter of the Book of Mormon record was buried in the earth.

Even if we ignore this scriptural obstacle to Sorenson's theory, there are additional arguments against the presence of other people in Book of Mormon lands. Nephi and Jacob were painstaking in their efforts to chronicle the significant events in their society. As we have seen, the population figures in the Book of Mormon require that many thousands of natives were incorporated into the original, tiny Nephite and Lamanite groups. Winning total domination over a host of people far superior in both numerical strength and familiarity with the land would have been an extraordinary accomplishment. Surely a triumph of this magnitude would deserve at least passing reference in the records of Nephi or Jacob.

It is difficult to imagine a people so ethnocentric that their historians would miss mentioning the large indigenous population found and assimilated upon arrival in a new land. Old Testament people were certainly ethnocentric to an extreme degree, and yet their scriptural writings are replete with references to their dealings with Egyptians, Babylonians, and other "non-chosen" people. There is no reason to believe that the Lehi-Mulek groups who emigrated from ancient Israel were more ethnocentric than the people from whom they escaped.

Perhaps the Book of Mormon contains only an abridgement of early Nephite/Lamanite history with most of the secular information reserved for the Large Plates of Nephi (Jacob 3:13; Jarom 1:14). But an abridged, largely religious history would presumably address the Nephites' dealings with native masses. The "religious" abridgement contains secular details about wars and politics. The discovery and absorption of the natives—solving such problems as language differences—would surely have dwarfed other secular events included in the Nephite history.

Certainly the Nephite annexation of these people would have entailed their religious conversion, probably one of the greatest instances of mass conversion of all time. The scriptural accounts report conversion of far less numerous groups (Mosiah 5:1-5; 25:14-17; Alma 5:12-14; 15:13-14; 53:10) and even of single individuals (Alma 15:5-12 [Zeezrom]; 23:14 [one Amalekite]). The record also mentions the unsuccessful efforts of the Nephites to "restore the Lamanites unto the true faith in God" (Enos 1:20). Surely the conversion of hosts of former pagans would have been included in the religious history.

Alternatively, natives not converted to the Nephites' religion would not have been considered true Nephites given the religion-centered nature of Nephite society. Such religious antagonists would have been unlikely allies (see Alma 53:10). In either case the situation would have warranted some space in the history/scripture.

The hypothesis that the native people were incorporated into the Nephite and Lamanite groups faces another major difficulty. The Book of Mormon distinguishes Lamanites and Nephites not only on the basis of religion and lifestyle but also on skin color. The Lamanites were cursed with a dark skin because of their iniquity, but the Nephites remained light-skinned, "fair and delightsome" (see 2 Ne. 5:21; Alma 3:6; 3 Ne. 2:15). And the dark skin of the Lamanites was genetically passed on to their progeny: "And cursed shall be the seed of him that mixeth with their [the Lamanites'] seed; for they shall be cursed even with the same cursing" (2 Ne. 5:23).

It is conceivable that the Lamanites obtained their "curse" by intermarrying with darker-skinned people already settled in the land. This would also help to explain the vast numbers of dark-skinned Lamanites described in the Book of Mormon. But this is not what the Book of Mormon says; it attributes the curse to divine intervention (but see Nibley 1988, 215-20). And this explanation does not solve the problem of an inflated population size for the Nephites. Since the Nephites are consistently described as "white," there could have been little intermarriage between Nephites and the darker-skinned inhabitants (see Jacob 3:8; 3 Ne. 2:15; 2 Ne. 5:21). When Nephites are "cursed," it is because they marry Lamanites. Although Nephite numbers are smaller than Lamanite numbers in the Book of Mormon, their population size is far beyond what could have been achieved by intermarrying within their small band. The 87 B.C.E. battle between the Nephites and Amlicites clearly demonstrates the scope of the problem—6,562 Nephites were slain and 12,532 Amlicites (Alma 2:17-19). But the Amlicites had split off from the Nephites and were not descendants of the Lamanite faction (Alma 2:2, 11; see Sorenson 1985, 193). If we optimistically assume that there were 15 individuals capable of reproduction in the initial Nephite faction separating from the Laman-

ites and if we further assume an extraordinarily rapid growth rate of 1.3 percent annually sustained over a span of five centuries, then the entire Nephite-Amlicite population in 87 B.C.E. would have amounted to about as many as were killed in that single day of fighting.

If as the scriptures state all Nephites were white-skinned, then the numbers they reportedly attained defy logic. Since the theory that other groups of people combined with the Lehi-Mulek pioneers to produce the large population figures is flawed on several grounds, the population puzzle does not yield easy answers.

The plain meaning of the Book of Mormon's own words precludes any contribution to the Nephite or Lamanite populations from Jaredite survivors. As previously shown, interaction with and incorporation of larger numbers of any preexisting population, Jaredite or other, is inconsistent with both the Book of Mormon text and common sense. But even more than any other preexisting native population, the scriptures rule out a nexus with Jaredites. Except for Coriantumr, the Jaredites were totally extinct by the time of the Nephite-Lamanite colonization. Many Jaredite prophets had predicted this destruction if the people did not repent. Ether had told Coriantumr that he alone would survive to tell of the annihilation (Ether 11: 12, 13, 22; 13:1-2, 20-21, 22; 15:19). Even before the final slaughter, "there had been slain two millions of mighty men, and also their wives and their children" (Ether 15:2). The death of the surviving population is described in Ether 13-15. These immense numbers of fatalities are at least as improbable as the subsequent Nephite-Lamanite population eruption. The Jaredite ocean voyagers consisted of "Jared and his brother, and their families, and also the friends of Jared and his brother and their families" (2:1) plus "their flocks and herds, and whatsoever beast or fowl that they should carry with them" (6:4). Whatever this total, they had to fit along with all their animals and provisions into eight small vessels (2:16; 3:1). It would have required an extraordinarily rapid, prolonged growth rate sustained over as many centuries as one could imagine between the commencement of the Jaredite adventure and their ultimate destruction for them even to approach a population size of several million people.

The same reasons that argue against Nephite-Lamanite intermarriage with other indigenous peoples also argue against their union with Jaredite survivors had there been any. If the Nephite encounter with a single Jaredite survivor, Coriantumr, was sufficiently important to warrant inclusion in the sacred record (Omni 1:21), then it would seem that the only reasonable explanation for scriptural silence about mass confrontations between Jaredites and Nephites or Lamanites is that they never happened.

In his "Speculations on Book of Mormon Populations," Vern Elefson (1984) briefly discussed population figures contained in the

Book of Mormon, and then reverse-engineered them to estimate the growth rate that must have prevailed for those figures to be reached. His "best guess" was an average annual rate of increase of 1.5 percent. Although he admitted that this is a high rate of population growth, particularly compared to a global rate of increase of less than .3 percent prior to C.E. 1650, he accepted it because of his underlying assumption of the historicity of the Book of Mormon. His only explanation for the accelerated explosion of Nephite-Lamanite numbers is the supposedly salutary effects of abundant space and natural resources and absence of other disease-carrying people. Again, however, the Book of Mormon itself provides ample reasons for believing that the uninhabited wilderness encountered by the ocean voyagers was anything but an ideal breeding ground for humans, especially given the warlike proclivities of the immigrants.

Given the evidence presented in this essay, it is reasonable to conclude that some of the details of events in the Book of Mormon are not literally historical. Whether this is due to modern scribal error, misinterpretation, the nature of revelation, the mode of transmission of the Book of Mormon text, or the nature of the text itself is left to individual interpretation. We are often admonished to study the Book of Mormon, but if this counsel is to have meaning, our study must be honest, open, and diligent and not limited by preconceived conclusions. If we do not bring to our study of the scriptures all of our abilities, we acknowledge that the scriptures cannot withstand the attention we routinely bring to our occupations and avocations. Such superficiality is more akin to idolatry than to reverence.

Whatever the explanation for the problem of Book of Mormon population sizes, there is certainly an answer. If we need to modify our interpretation of the Book of Mormon, it should be from a position of knowledge rather than ignorance. If our faith is strong, it will withstand hard evidence. But we must know enough about the objects of our faith to understand their true significance, lest we waste our energies fighting illusory battles over empty causes.

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CHAPTER 8

Does the Shoe Fit? A Critique of the Limited Tehuantepec Geography

Deanne G. Matheny

Travel companies boldly offer tours of "Book of Mormon Lands," and books abound purporting evidence for Book of Mormon peoples or for the appearance of the resurrected Jesus in the New World. Such are only the latest manifestations of the legitimate interest in and speculation about the location of the Book of Mormon civilizations. Like their predecessors, most of the recent volumes represent sincere but flawed attempts to weave together unrelated bits and pieces of information from the New World and the Old, usually unconnected to each other in space or time.

Most books on Book of Mormon geography can be discounted easily; however, two recent works, John L. Sorenson's *An Ancient American Setting for the Book of Mormon* (1985) and F. Richard Hauck's *Deciphering the Geography of the Book of Mormon* (1988), deserve careful attention. Both Sorenson and Hauck are anthropologists with experience in Mesoamerican archaeology. They propose limited geographical settings for the Book of Mormon in slightly different but overlapping areas of Mexico and Central America. Several volumes dealing with Book of Mormon archaeology published since those by Sorenson and Hauck either accept the Sorenson model or present a model having some features in common with the Hauck and Sorenson models. Joseph L. Allen's *Exploring the Lands of the Book of Mormon* (1989) is one example.

Sorenson notes in his work that it is not his purpose to test the truthfulness of the Book of Mormon or to put it "on trial" in "some make-believe scientific dock" (1985, xvii). Neither is such the purpose

of my essay. Rather I will evaluate in a preliminary way how effectively the Hauck and Sorenson models deal with some of the geographical and archaeological challenges involved with demonstrating a plausible setting for Book of Mormon events. Although only the Sorenson and Hauck models are considered here, the general discussions about such topics as metallurgy, plants, and animals apply to other models set in the same general area.

Many of the opinions expressed in what follows were formed as a result of my own archaeological field experiences in the Mexican states of Chiapas and Campeche and in Guatemala during the past twenty years. I consider issues related to geography only briefly in this paper but examine at some length the comfort of the fit between the Sorenson and Hauck models and the archaeological evidence as it is now understood by most professionals in the field. Still the limited scope of this essay dictates that I focus only on a few significant topics and relevant examples. Many of the points I raise have been discussed by others who have explored the challenges encountered when attempting to locate Book of Mormon events in Mexico and Central America. A good example is Glenna Nielsen's (1992) analysis of Book of Mormon material culture. I welcome an interchange of ideas with both those who agree and disagree with my opinions concerning the issues in this paper. First we will turn to a brief discussion of geography before moving on to a consideration of the archaeology.

Geography

Since the publication of the Book of Mormon in 1830, Latter-day Saints have speculated about the locations of the events described therein. The broadest suggested settings would include both North and South America but limited geographical settings have been advanced as well. In a recent paper Mormon educator Kenneth W. Godfrey examined statements about geography written during Joseph Smith's lifetime by various church leaders and others. He noted that it is clear "that the early Church leaders and saints alike believed the Book of Mormon history was broad enough and had lasted long enough to have included the peopling of both North and South America." Godfrey's research led him to conclude that "early saints had no concept that Book of Mormon history should be limited to a small area on the American continent" (1989, 14, 15; see also Metcalfe 1989). He further observed that early Latter-day Saints and their contemporaries did not have the same view of the peopling of the Americas as that currently held by anthropologists, a view developed during the past century and a half.

As part of his review of Sorenson's model, Dan Vogel, a researcher

in early Mormonism, also considered the views of Joseph Smith and early Mormons about Book of Mormon geography. According to Vogel, "It is absolutely clear that Joseph Smith and the early Mormons associated the Book of Mormon with the Mound Builder myth and that they consistently held the belief that the Book of Mormon contained the history of a people who landed in South America and were destroyed in the Great Lakes region" (1985, 12).

Some argue that a limited geographical setting is acceptable based on statements of early Mormon leaders. The limited geographical models have been advanced in many cases because a close examination of the Book of Mormon suggests that time and distance figures implied between localities are too limited to encompass both North and South America. For the purposes of this paper, I will simply assume that a limited geographical setting might be accommodated considering the history of ideas within the Mormon tradition.

If one accepts the idea of a limited geographical setting, where then should the Book of Mormon scene be located? Complex and impressive civilizations were found both in the Andean area of South America and also in Mexico and adjacent areas of Central America. Most recent Book of Mormon geographies have eliminated South America from consideration.[1] Many of those who subscribe to the the-

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1. As an aside, it may be useful to explore briefly the basis on which the Andean area has been discounted as a location for Book of Mormon events. Warren (1990, 127-136) states that the "Andean area lacks the surrounding seas, writing systems (dating to the Book of Mormon period), and appropriate topographical patterns and has no surviving written traditions." Further he notes that Andean civilization began with a maritime rather than an agricultural economy. Irrigation agriculture as a subsistence base appeared later. Warren's final point is that the languages of the Mesoamerican and Andean areas are not related to each other.

Although some of these points are important considerations, many are not by any means settled among scholars. For example, the hypothesis advanced by Moseley (1975) that civilization on the west coast of South America rose from a maritime base has been roundly criticized. Analyses of midden deposits, coprolites, and bone chemistry have shown that coastal inhabitants were eating a mixed diet of wild and cultivated plants as well as the main staples of marine fish, mammals, and invertebrates in the third millennium B.C.E. (Feldman 1987, 9). As to writing, in spite of some tantalizing possibilities, there is no generally accepted evidence that any ancient writing system developed in South America. However, there are numerous references to ancient South American writing systems comprised of or influenced by Old World writing systems and those which are claimed to be completely indigenous. These references come from all over South America and relate to many time periods and cultures. Some have been carefully investigated and are clearly not authentic. In other cases there has been little investigation or there is a difference of scholarly opinion either concerning authenticity or what may be said to comprise writing. Many of the references to ancient South American writing can be found in a recent bibliography compiled by Sorenson and Raish (1990) relating to pre-Columbian contact with the Americas. Gene Savoy, a well-known Andean explorer and discoverer of ancient sites, including Vilcabamba (the

ory of a limited geographical setting for the Book of Mormon focus on the ancient cultures of Mexico and Central America, which flourished in an area known to specialists as Mesoamerica. Mesoamerica is an area where a distinct pattern of civilization was found at the time of Spanish contact in the sixteenth century.[2] At that time Mesoamerica included what is now central and southern Mexico, all of Guatemala, Belize, El Salvador, and parts of Honduras, Nicaragua, and northern Costa Rica (see Map 1). The borders of the area were not static but fluctuated over time in relation to climate and other factors. Although it is a relatively small area of about 392,000 square miles, the geography of Mesoamerica exhibits great diversity. The great mountain ranges found in some regions contrast dramatically with the tropical lowland forests in others. Large river systems and extensive coastal areas provide abundant aquatic resources. Ancient high cultures flourished in both the highland basins and the lowland forests. The great variation in rainfall and altitude throughout Mesoamerica has created a wide variety of ecological conditions supporting a rich diversity of plant and animal life.

Mesoamerica was defined as a cultural area largely on the basis of historical and ethnographic traits, and the definition was later reworked to make it more useful for archaeology.[3] A few of the specific traits used to define Mesoamerica as a culture area include: ball courts with rings, cacao (chocolate), hieroglyphic writing, codices (books made of paper or deer skin), human sacrifice, stepped pyramids, stucco floors, grinding of corn mixed with ash or lime, a periodic mar-

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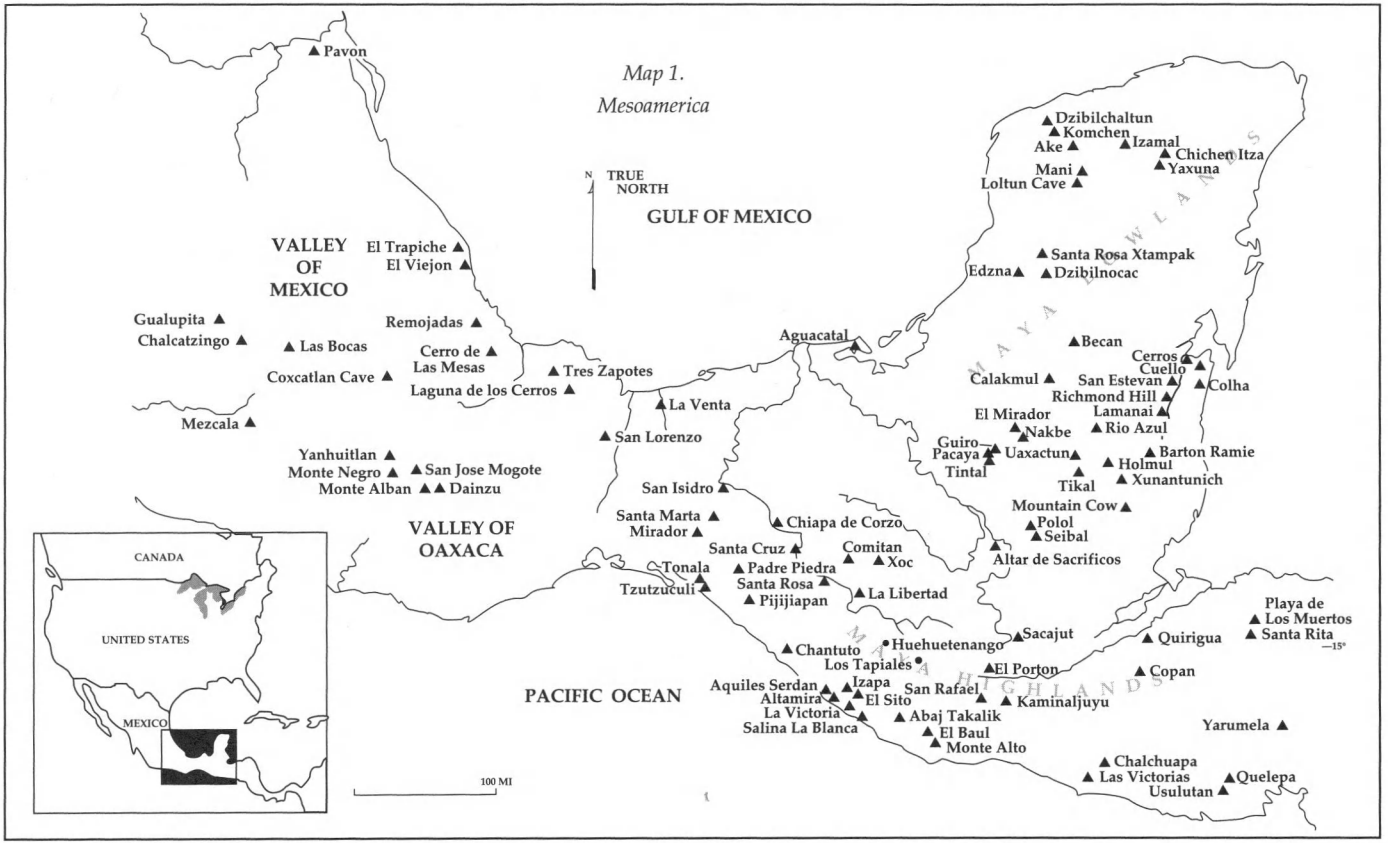
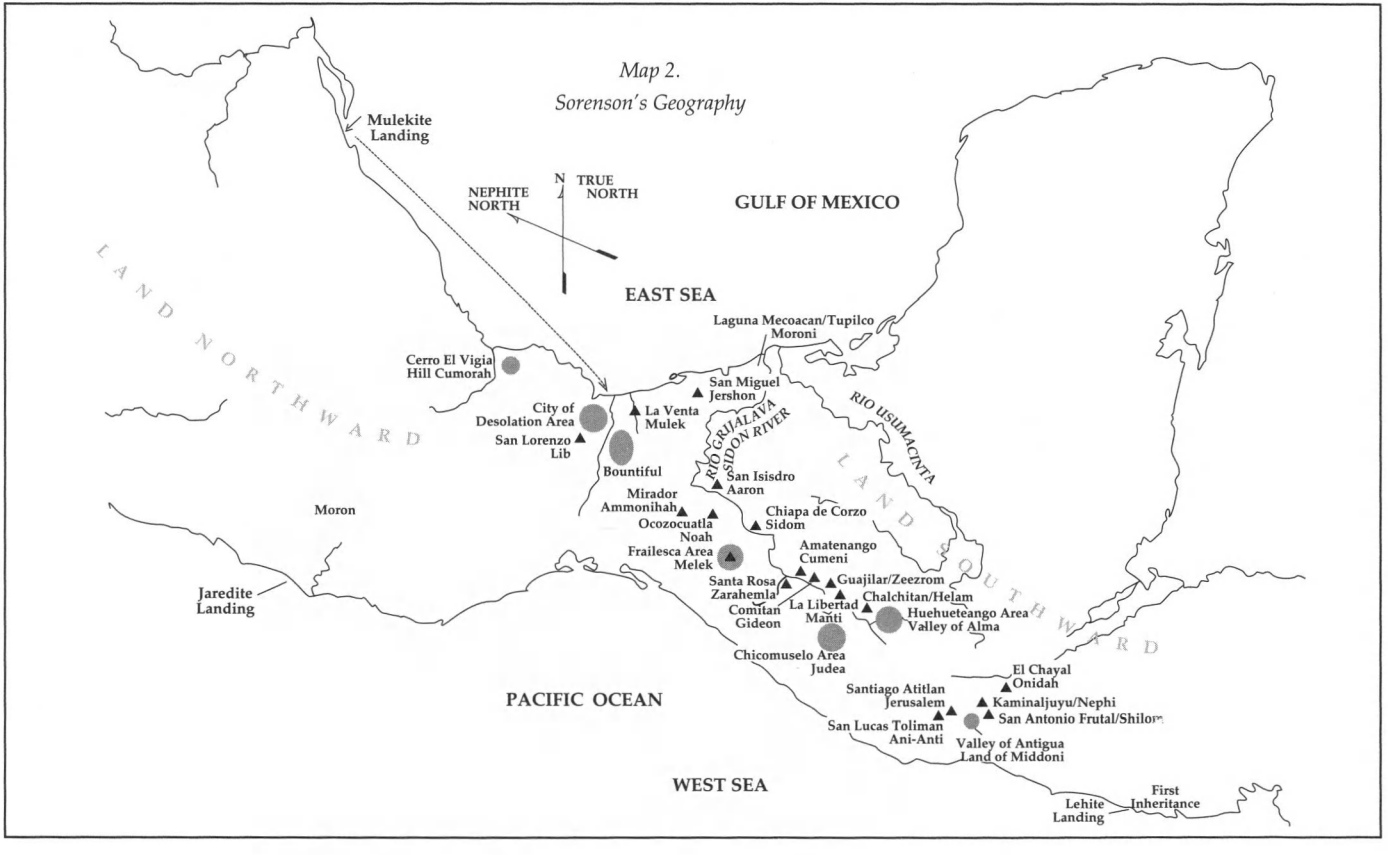
final redoubt of the Incas), recently reported evidence of pre-Columbian writing near the site of Gran Vilaya in a remote area of northern Peru. The scientific community awaits further information to evaluate that claim.

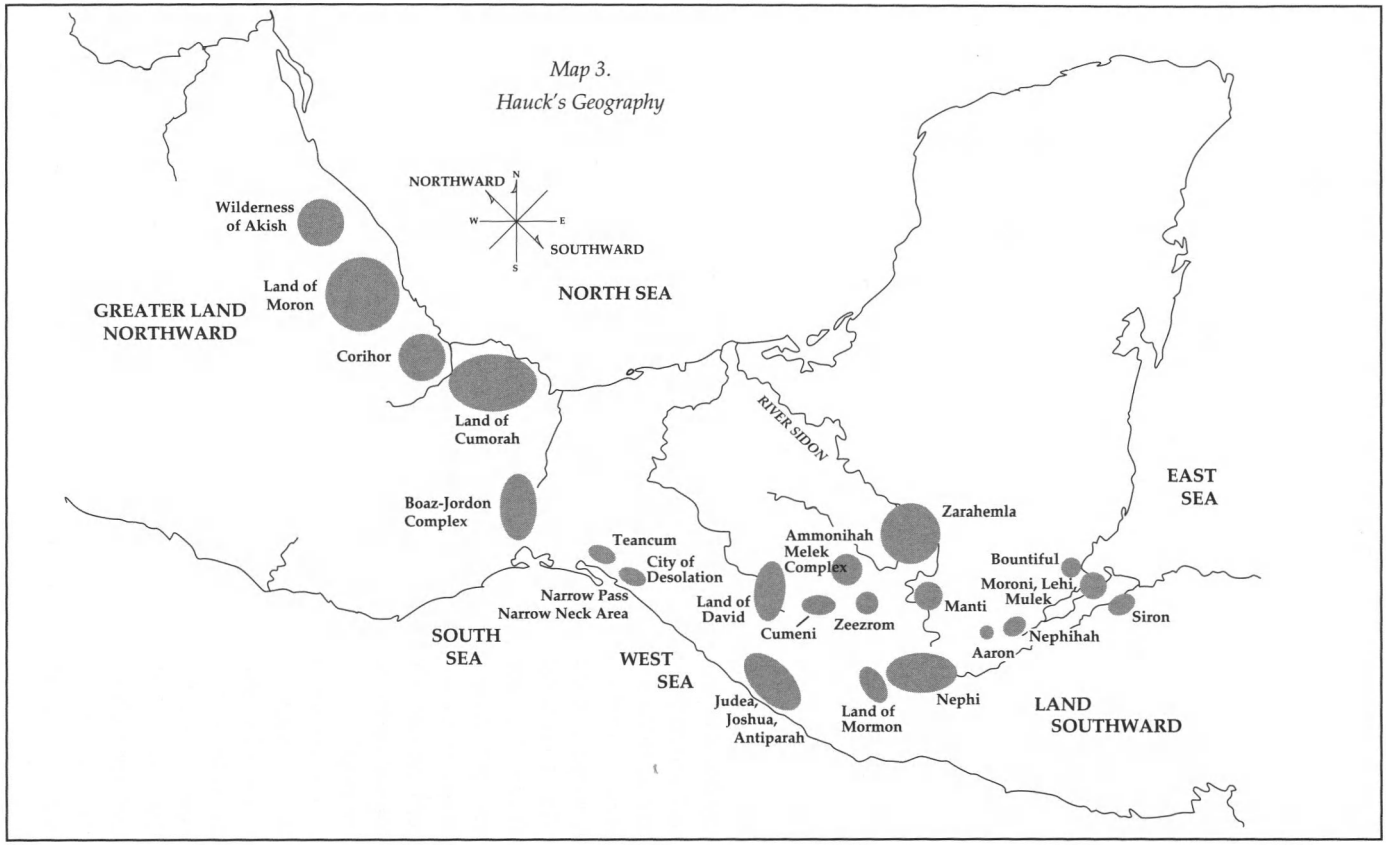
At first glance Warren's mention of the lack of surrounding seas in the Andean area might seem fatal to any Book of Mormon setting in the Andean area. There may be other facts that play on this issue, however. For example, when one considers the term "sea," what might it include? Assuming that the original word was "yam," a Hebrew word commonly used for "sea," we find that it may also mean a large lake or other body of water (the Sea of Galilee, for example). On Warren's final point it is difficult to understand why the lack of connections between Mesoamerican and South American languages might be counted against South America. All that I am suggesting here is that the Limited Tehuantepec setting is not necessarily as inevitable as some might suggest. In dealing with some factors (particularly metallurgy), an Andean setting is an easier fit with the time frame and the cultural descriptions from the Book of Mormon. There are, however, numerous challenges to grapple with in the Andean setting.

2. Paul Kirchhoff (1943) proposed Mesoamerica as a distinct culture area based on a distributional study of culture traits as they were found at the time of the Spanish conquest (C.E. 1521).

3. Gordon Ekholm, Gordon R. Willey, and Rene Millon were instrumental in reworking the concept for use by archaeologists. See Adams 1991, 19.


Map 1.
Mesoamerica
N TRUE NORTH
GULF OF MEXICO
PACIFIC OCEAN
MAYA LOWLANDS
MAYA HIGHLANDS
VALLEY OF MEXICO
VALLEY OF OAXACA
Pavon
El Trapiche
El Viejon
Gualupita
Chalcatzingo
Las Bocas
Remojadas
Cerro de Las Mesas
Coxcatlan Cave
Laguna de los Cerros
Tres Zapotes
Mezcala
Yanhuitlan
Monte Negro
San Jose Mogote
Monte Alban
Dainzu
La Venta
San Lorenzo
San Isidro
Santa Marta
Mirador
Chiapa de Corzo
Santa Cruz
Padre Piedra
Tonala
Tzutzuculi
Santa Rosa
Pijijiapan
La Libertad
Comitan
Xoc
Aguacatal
Dzibilchaltun
Komchen
Ake
Izamal
Chichen Itza
Yaxuna
Mani
Loltun Cave
Santa Rosa Xtampak
Edzna
Dzibilnocac
Becan
Cerros
Cuello
Calakmul
San Estevan
Colha
Richmond Hill
El Mirador
Lamanai
Nakbe
Rio Azul
Guiro
Pacaya
Uaxactun
Barton Ramie
Tintal
Holmul
Tikal
Xunantunich
Mountain Cow
Polol
Seibal
Altar de Sacrificos
Sacajut
Quirigua
Playa de Los Muertos
Santa Rita
Huehuetenango
Chantuto
Los Tapiales
El Porton
Copan
Aquiles Serdan
Izapa
Altamira
El Sito
La Victoria
Salina La Blanca
San Rafael
Kaminaljuyu
Abaj Takalik
El Baul
Monte Alto
Yarumela
Chalchuapa
Las Victorias
Quelepa
Usulutan
—15°
CANADA
UNITED STATES
MEXICO
100 MI


Map 2.
Sorenson's Geography
Mulekite Landing
NEPHITE NORTH
N TRUE NORTH
GULF OF MEXICO
EAST SEA
LAND NORTHWARD
Laguna Mecoacan/Tupilco
Moroni
Cerro El Vigia
Hill Cumorah
San Miguel
Jershon
City of
Desolation Area
La Venta
Mulek
San Lorenzo
Lib
Bountiful
RIO GRIJALAVA
SIDON RIVER
RIO USUMACINTA
San Isisdro
Aaron
LAND SOUTHWARD
Mirador
Ammonihah
Ocozocuatla
Noah
Chiapa de Corzo
Sidom
Moron
Frailesca Area
Melek
Amatenango
Cumeni
Guajilar/Zeezrom
Santa Rosa
Zarahemla
Chalchitan/Helam
Comitan
Gideon
La Libertad
Manti
Huehueteango Area
Valley of Alma
Jaredite Landing
Chicomuselo Area
Judea
El Chayal
Onidah
Santiago Atitlan
Jerusalem
Kaminaljuyu/Nephi
San Antonio Frutal/Shilom
PACIFIC OCEAN
San Lucas Toliman
Ani-Anti
Valley of Antigua
Land of Middoni
WEST SEA
First Inheritance
Lehite Landing


Map 3.
Hauck's Geography
NORTHWARD
SOUTHWARD
Wilderness of Akish
Land of Moron
GREATER LAND NORTHWARD
NORTH SEA
Corihor
Land of Cumorah
RIVER SIDON
EAST SEA
Boaz-Jordon Complex
Zarahemla
Teancum
City of Desolation
Ammonihah
Melek Complex
Bountiful
Moroni, Lehi, Mulek
Narrow Pass
Narrow Neck Area
Land of David
Cumeni
Zeezrom
Manti
Siron
Nephihah
Aaron
SOUTH SEA
WEST SEA
Judea, Joshua, Antiparah
Land of Mormon
Nephi
LAND SOUTHWARD

ket system, use of thirteen as a ritual number, and a year of eighteen months of twenty days each plus five extra days (see Weaver 1981, 9-20). Beyond this "trait list" approach to the definition of Mesoamerica, there was a basic underlying cultural unity which characterized the area. The peoples of Mesoamerica possessed a stone age technology, and metal appears to have arrived late in the sequence of most regions, where it was little used for utilitarian objects. Sophisticated agricultural systems were developed, and the basis of all settled life was the agricultural village. Wheeled toys indicate that the principle of the wheel was known in some areas of Mesoamerica, but no evidence indicates that wheels were employed beyond this limited context. There were few domesticated animals and thus human porters constituted the primary means for transporting goods. Despite its overarching cultural unity, there was a good deal of cultural diversity in Mesoamerica. An example of such diversity was the great number of languages spoken in the area; one source notes the presence of 351 native languages in Mexico and Central America (McQuown 1955).

A number of factors have drawn students of the Book of Mormon to Mesoamerica; perhaps the most significant is that some of the ancient civilizations there developed writing systems, a prerequisite for the Book of Mormon. Within Mesoamerica the Isthmus of Tehuantepec in Mexico provides a convenient "narrow neck of land." Thus a number of Book of Mormon geographies, including those of Sorenson and Hauck, make use of what has been called the Limited Tehuantepec theory. In these geographies either the Usumacinta River or the Grijalva River, both of which discharge their waters in the southern Gulf of Mexico, has been selected as the modern equivalent of the River Sidon (see Map 1).[4] These are the two most voluminous river systems in Mesoamerica (Tamayo and West 1964, 93-94). The lower sections of the two rivers in the Tabasco lowlands are considered as a single hydrological unit because of their complex interconnected distributaries and swamps.

Sorenson and Hauck each focus on this general area surrounding the Isthmus of Tehuantepec but locate Book of Mormon lands in somewhat different ways. Map 2 illustrates the area chosen by Sorenson. It includes a part of the highlands of Guatemala and a part of the Mexican states of Chiapas, Veracruz, Oaxaca, and Tabasco. In this model the Grijalva River is equated with the River Sidon. Map 3 delineates the area chosen by Hauck. He has selected the upper Usumacinta River rather than the Grijalva as the River Sidon. Parts of both of these areas were inhabited in ancient times by various Maya speaking

4. Also called the Mezcalapa and the Rio Grande de Chiapas.

groups and continue to be inhabited by them today. Other important linguistic groups are found within the areas as well. Obviously there is considerable geographical overlap in the Sorenson and Hauck models.

SORENSON'S GEOGRAPHY

The most fundamental geographical problem associated with Sorenson's model has to do with issues of directionality. This is revealed clearly in Map 2. In order for his model to fit the geography of Mesoamerica, one must assume that the Nephites had a system of directions with cardinal directions skewed "45 degrees or more" off of the usually observed cardinals (Sorenson 1985, 39). Unfortunately Sorenson never gives an exact figure and provides no map showing Nephite cardinals. Works by David Palmer (1981, 241-50) and Bruce Warren and Thomas Stuart Ferguson (1987, 334-35) do have maps, based on Sorenson's model, showing true north and "Nephite north" which are more than 60 degrees apart. In other words, the whole directional card must be shifted more than 60 degrees to the west for this model to fit the geography of the chosen area. Otherwise, as Vogel (1985) has pointed out, the land north will be on the west, the land south on the east, and so forth. Also the River Sidon (Grijalva River) would be flowing from east to west through the Land of Zarahemla. Making this shift in directions creates its own set of problems, however, because in such a Nephite directional system the sun would come up in the south and set in the north.

Sorenson advances several arguments to explain why Book of Mormon peoples might adopt such a system. He provides examples from a number of cultures to demonstrate that human societies handle directionality and the labeling of directions in diverse ways. Still the Book of Mormon account offers what appears to be a standard scheme of cardinal directions, presumably a scheme brought from the Near East. Picking up a line of argument advanced by Palmer, Sorenson singles out one Hebrew directional scheme which had east as forward, north as left hand, south as right hand, and west as seaward. According to this argument, when Lehi's party landed on the Pacific coast of Mesoamerica, they were confused by their new surroundings and, relying on this scheme, assumed that west was seaward. Later when they realized this could not be so, they somehow retained this altered system of directionality.

As Mormon writer John A. Tvedtnes has noted, the ancient Israelite directional system discussed by Palmer and Sorenson was one of two systems. In the second and more common Israelite system, the term for east means "dawn" and the term for west means "entering, setting" (1982, 9). Both Israelite directional systems were sun-oriented, specifically oriented toward the rising sun. In the directional system

mentioned by Palmer and Sorenson, east was "forward" precisely because when facing east one faced the rising sun. The basis of the directional system was the path of the sun not the location of the sea. Sorenson in his discussion of the temple built by Nephi and his people points out that it would have been oriented as was the Temple of Solomon so that the rising sun on equinox day (either March 21 or September 21) sent its first rays through the temple doors (Sorenson 1985, 143).[5] This equinoctial orientation would seem to indicate that Lehi's group was well aware of the positions of the standard cardinal directions soon after their arrival.

Surely the Israelites, who had some knowledge of nearby lands, realized that west was not always seaward. Lehi and his party should have been aware of this fact after their own extensive travels. Once they arrived in the promised land, they would have had several directional guides, including the path of the sun from east to west and the constellations. Although the northern constellations and familiar stars would have been lower on the horizon than at Jerusalem, most would have been visible. Some new constellations would have been visible to the travelers. There was no north star available in 600 B.C.E., but it seems likely that travelers would have been aware of the rotation of the stars around the north celestial pole. This great wheeling motion is visible on all clear nights and is well known to those who live more intimately in tune with the natural environment than do modern urban dwellers. Additionally Lehi's party had the Liahona, which is called a "compass" a number of times in the Book of Mormon (1 Ne. 18:12, 21; 2 Ne. 5:12; Alma 37:38, 43-44).[6]

Palmer (1990) suggests that the lack of a pole star made the determination of directions difficult and that the Mesoamericans based their directions on solstice readings. He further suggests that they used one of the solstice positions of 65 degrees west of north as their equivalent of north. According to Palmer, this orientation is evidenced by the alignment of Preclassic period sites at 65 degrees west of north. But if Nephites drew upon their Near Eastern heritage to orient temple entrances and other architectural features based on solstice and equinox readings, it is difficult to explain why they would choose a solstice setting as north. The equinox and solstice readings were associated with the path of the sun, not cardinal directions.

In a recent work Sorenson, perhaps recognizing the problems still posed by directionality in his model, offers further ethnographic and

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5. Sorenson has mistakenly called these solstice days rather than equinox days.

6. Hugh Nibley has suggested that the Liahona rather than being a compass may have been an object related to ancient arrow-divination (1988, 251-63).

archaeological examples of directional systems in order to demonstrate that the "conceptual frameworks which define directions and the languages of reference for them differ dramatically from culture to culture and throughout history" (1990, 406). These examples do not appear to strengthen his argument. None of those who argue in favor of Sorenson's model have shown any evidence from the Book of Mormon account suggesting that anything other than a standard traditional interpretation of the direction system is called for. They must argue that the directionality system is not what the plain meaning of the terms would suggest because otherwise the model will not work. This does not seem to be sufficient cause to assume the existence of a different system among the Nephites.

Another approach to the problem of directional systems is to investigate what is known about the directional systems of Mesoamerican peoples, particularly those located within the area chosen by Sorenson. Barbara Tedlock has studied modern directional terminology of the Quiché Maya, who live in the highlands of Guatemala (1992, 2-3). She notes that the Quiché words for east and west make overt reference to the motion of the sun. East is referred to as "at the rising of the sun" and west as "at the setting of the sun." North and south are given indirect terms referring to the sun's right and left sides as it travels west. Other Maya languages have similar terminologies.

Of course this modern terminology might not relate to ancient concepts. Thanks to the decipherment of directional glyphs found in Classic Maya inscriptions and in Postclassic Maya codices, it is possible to discuss the Classic Maya directional system. Although some ongoing debate on the topic continues, most epigraphers suggest that the Classic directional system was much like the modern one described by Tedlock. It emphasized the daily route of the sun across the sky and through the underworld (east, zenith, west, nadir) rather than the cardinal directions (Tedlock 1992, 173-78). Early Classic period Tomb 12 at Río Azul in the northeastern Petén of Guatemala has a directional glyph painted on each of its four walls. The glyph that indicates "sun" or "day" is infixed in the superfix above the directional glyph on the east wall; the glyph for "night" or "darkness" is infixed over the directional glyph on the west wall. The moon glyph is similarly associated with the directional glyph on the north wall, and the Venus glyph is associated with the directional glyph on the south wall. Thus this directional system may have been in existence during the proper time in at least part of the area chosen by both Sorenson and Hauck. The fact that the terms for east and west were sun related in many languages argues strongly against a shift of these same terms to a different orientation.

Certainly the problem of directionality is a critical issue in the Sorenson geography, but there are other problems as well. For example,

Bruce Warren has rightly pointed out that the Yucatan Peninsula remains a "sore thumb" in the Sorenson and Hauck geographies (1990, 134).[7] The constraints of their models force both to ignore this large area for the most part, yet some of the most important developments occurring during the Book of Mormon period took place there. Many examples and analogies have been taken from the Maya culture of Yucatán by various authors to support aspects of Sorenson's model, but the model itself cannot accommodate the area. It is clear from the archaeological record that trade and other forms of contact between various parts of the Maya area began early and continued throughout the Book of Mormon period. It is difficult to explain why this large and important area containing some of the largest cities ever built in Mesoamerica would escape even the barest mention in the Book of Mormon. This is a significant weakness in both the Hauck and Sorenson models.

HAUCK'S GEOGRAPHY

One of the strengths of Hauck's geography is that it does not require elaborate explanations about a Nephite directional system. Several reviews of Hauck's volume point out other geographical problems encountered in attempting to apply his model. William Hamblin has discussed Hauck's use of a "coastal corridor" rather than an isthmus as the narrow neck of land. This view additionally requires two lands of Bountiful, one by the east sea and one by the west sea. Hamblin also criticizes Hauck's assumption that the terms "northward," "southward," and "eastward" were intermediate compass points between the cardinal directions (1989, 73-75).

John E. Clark, a Mesoamericanist, has provided one of the most interesting and careful reviews of the Sorenson and Hauck geographies. Based on his own internal model of Book of Mormon geography which he developed to evaluate real life geographical models, Clark lists ten crucial features of Nephite geography which can be used as criteria for evaluating any proposed real-world geographical correlations such as those proposed by Hauck and Sorenson (1989, 67-69). Clark's criteria include: the narrow neck of land as an isthmus, significantly more western than eastern coastline, varying sizes of the different wildernesses, Zarahemla and Nephi located in large valleys, size and other characteristics of the Zarahemla Basin, Waters of Mormon as a large highland lake located within a day or two of Nephi, and finally the locations for Zarahemla, Nephi, Bountiful, and Cumorah.

Clark notes that Hauck's model fails to meet nine of these criteria, and whether it meets the tenth is unknown. In contrast Sorenson's ge-

7. An apt analogy considering its shape.

ography passes the test "with flying colors." However, Clark never addresses the problem of directionality in regard to Sorenson's model. He in fact avoids the problem by stating that he does not "pretend to know how Nephite 'north' relates to the north of today's compass" (1989, 25). Neither does he address the larger test Book of Mormon geographies must pass: archaeological evidence which allows and confirms the cultural scene drawn by the Book of Mormon.

Archaeology

The human presence in Mesoamerica dates from the time of the early hunters, probably at least 15,000 years ago. Archaeologists have developed a framework of cultural stages to categorize in a broad sense the development of prehispanic groups in the New World. These include the Lithic, Archaic, Preclassic/Formative, Classic, and Postclassic stages. Because these are cultural stages related to specific lifeways, they vary chronologically from area to area. For example, in the Great Basin of the United States, some peoples continued in an Archaic lifeway of hunting and gathering until the arrival of the Europeans. Many regions of Mesoamerica experienced the full range of cultural stages before the arrival of the Spaniards. Book of Mormon events appear to fall principally within the late Archaic, Preclassic/Formative, and early Classic developments in Mesoamerica.

In the New World approximately 10,000 years ago a new set of environmental circumstances was ushered in by end of the Wisconsin Glacial, the final period of the Pleistocene Epoch. Warming and drying occurred, and many of the lakes and streams which had offered rich resources during the Pleistocene dried up. Large Pleistocene fauna such as the mammoth and mastodon, which human groups had hunted, became scarce and then extinct, a circumstance humans may have contributed to. Although mammoths and other large mammals were found in Mesoamerica, they apparently were not as plentiful there as elsewhere. During the Lithic period ancient Mesoamericans may never have been big-game hunters to the extent groups living on the North American plains were. They seem to have taken advantage of big game when available, but mostly they subsisted on smaller game and the plants they gathered.

During the Archaic period, currently dated between 7000-1500 B.C.E. in Mesoamerica, humans living in small scattered bands shifted their hunting to numerous smaller species and began a long series of experiments with plants. These eventually led to the development of sedentary non-agricultural communities, in some areas perhaps by 3000 B.C.E. The earliest pottery known from Mesoamerica dates to about 2400 B.C.E.

The Early Preclassic period (1500—1200 B.C.E.) is the time of settled agricultural villages, the basis of all Mesoamerican civilizations. Farmers planted corn, beans, squash, and other plants during the preceding Archaic period. In the Middle Preclassic period (1200-400 B.C.E.), the Olmec civilization, the earliest known in Mesoamerica, flourished and declined on the Gulf Coast. At the same time complex centers developed in Central Mexico and Oaxaca. Building on the base of earlier achievements, civilizations sprang up in Oaxaca, the Maya area, and central Mexico during the Late Preclassic period (400 B.C.E.-C.E. 200).

During the Classic period, the civilizations of Teotihuacan, the Maya, the Zapotecs, and others produced the richest development of Mesoamerican culture. As Muriel Porter Weaver has aptly expressed it, during the Classic period "regional cultures shared ideas, art styles, and intellectual knowledge to produce a magnificent display of brilliant achievements" (1981, 185). An Early Classic (C.E. 200-600) and Late Classic (C.E. 600-900) period are generally recognized within the Classic, although some argue for a tripartite division of Early, Middle, and Late.[8] The collapse of Classic period civilizations resulted in a realignment of political power. This was the setting for the Postclassic (C.E. 900-1519) civilizations, including among others the Toltecs, Postclassic Maya, Mixtecs, and Aztecs.

In the following sections, I discuss various topics, comparing cultural information derived from the Book of Mormon with evidence available from Mesoamerican studies. The topics I have selected form a core of cultural problems which, in my opinion, should be addressed by those attempting to correlate the Book of Mormon account with the currently available archaeological record from the areas included in the Limited Tehuantepec models for the Book of Mormon setting. There are a number of important topics, particularly those relating to linguistics and biological anthropology which are not examined in this paper.

Below under each topic considered, I first review it as it occurs in the Book of Mormon and then evaluate the evidence available from Mesoamerican studies. In some cases in order to recognize cultural differences, I separate Book of Mormon references into Jaredite and Nephite/Lamanite categories.

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8. Traditionally the date for the beginning of the Early Classic has been C.E. 300, but recent work in Mesoamerica has demonstrated that an earlier date is more appropriate for many areas. A date of C.E. 200 has been suggested for the beginnings of Classic Maya civilization (Schele and Freidel, 1990). See Weaver 1981, 186, for a suggested tripartite division of the Classic period.

Metalworking and Metallurgy

A number of metals and processes associated with producing them are mentioned in the Book of Mormon. In discussing metals, it is important to distinguish between metalworking, "the act or process of shaping things out of metal," and metallurgy, the "science and technology of metals" which may involve such processes as smelting, casting, and alloying. Many groups in both the Old World and the New developed the art of cold-hammering naturally occurring nuggets of copper, gold, and meteoric iron. This art did not require the smelting of ores. The discovery of the properties of metal and their ores in the Old World was likely a gradual one. People first recognized native metals, especially gold, copper, and meteoric iron, then learned that certain ores contained metals, and finally discovered how to smelt the metals (Raymond 1986, 9-10). The references to metals in the Book of Mormon strongly imply an advanced knowledge of metallurgy including the casting and alloying of metals.

JAREDITE METALLURGY

Direct references to metals and metallurgy early in the Book of Ether indicate that the Jaredites apparently arrived in the promised land with a knowledge of metallurgy and applied their knowledge in the New World. They worked ores including gold, silver, iron, brass, and copper, and to obtain these ores "they did cast up mighty heaps of earth" (Ether 10:23). These accomplishments suggest that metal ores were available to the Jaredites in some abundance. An early reference to metallurgy in the Jaredite record notes that Shule, the son of King Kib, went to the hill Ephraim and "did molten out of the hill and made swords of steel for those whom he had drawn away with him"; he then armed his followers with these swords (7:9).[9] A second reference to metallurgy in Ether notes that Riplakish, a later king, had gold refined in prison (10:7).

A good deal can be inferred from such references. The "heaps of earth" produced in getting ore suggests a mining system for finding and successfully extracting ores. Once the ores were mined they would have required processing to reduce elements which would impede the smelting process. The Book of Ether specifically mentions gold, silver, iron, brass, and copper. Each metal would require special techniques of reduction, the use of fluxes to separate the metal from its matrix, and a specific heat range for smelting. Smelting ores also requires appropriate fuel and the technology to make the fuel perform.

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9. This is the only reference to steel among Jaredites, but steel is elsewhere associated with Nephites as well.

Such ore and the fuel needs to be transported to an area prepared for processing. Not only mining and smelting technology is required by such references but also the technology for casting the metals into the desired forms. Casting in turn requires tools for working the metal castings, heat treatments to anneal the billeted pieces, special techniques for hardening, and tools for working the billeted pieces into the desired forms.

Such complex technological processes generally leave traces in the archaeological record. Expected traces would include old mine shafts in the mining district containing broken and discarded tools, the remains of smelting operations with considerable slag deposits, and the remains of the objects produced and the tools used to produce them. Even in cases where metals were worked cold rather than smelted, one would expect to find traces of the process or its end result, especially if non-ferrous metals, which tend to be preserved, were involved.

As might be predicted, many sites in the Near East documenting mining and processing metals have been discovered. For example, the Timna Valley in Israel is a well-known copper mining and processing zone with mining activity dating from the Chalcolithic period (currently dated at 5000/4800-4200/4000 B.C.E. for the Early Chalcolithic and 4200/4000-3200/3000 B.C.E. for the Middle-Late Chalcolithic according to Ben-Tor 1992, 2) to Mameluke times with some lapses between periods of exploitation (Rothenberg 1972, 229). Ancient mines and processing stations from a number of time periods have been investigated. Recent excavations at the Chalcolithic site of Shiqmim in the northwestern Negev Desert of Israel have revealed the remains of an industrial area for the production of copper objects (Levy 1990, 27). Found there were tools, ornaments, ores, slags, and crucibles. Analysis of the ores shows that they originated over eighty miles from Shiqmim at the Wadi Feinan in Jordan. Several other copper objects of a cult or prestige nature, including a mace head and a scepter, were determined to have been made elsewhere. Thus archaeological research has confirmed the existence of the technology which the Jaredites could have brought to the New World. One would expect to find some such traces of such ancient metallurgy wherever it occurred.

There are a few clues available in the Book of Mormon about the kinds of metal artifacts which the Jaredites produced. Silver and gold are mentioned twice as forms of wealth, but no mention is made about what forms they may have taken (Ether 9:17, 10:12). The most frequently mentioned artifact is the sword. It appears to have been the weapon of choice with at least seventeen references to "sword" or "swords" among the Jaredites (Ether 7:9; 9:27; 13:18; 14:1; 14:2; 14:4; 14:24; 15:2; 15:20; 15:22; 15:23; 15:24; 15:28; 15:29; 15:30; and Mosiah 8:11). References are to actual weapons. Two references, the first and last ref-

erences to Jaredite swords, are specifically to metal swords. In the first reference, mentioned above, Shule makes steel swords, and in the final reference the people of King Limhi recover Jaredite swords, breastplates and engraved gold plates. It is noted that the swords' hilts "have perished, and the blades thereof were cankered with rust" (Mosiah 8:11). This suggests that Jaredite swords were made of ferrous metal.

The people of King Limhi also recovered Jaredite breastplates which were large, made "of brass and of copper," and "perfectly sound" (Mosiah 8:10). Of course brass is an alloyed metal usually made of copper and zinc. Its production implies a sophisticated development of non-ferrous as well as ferrous metallurgy among the Jaredites. In addition, shields and head-plates are mentioned as war gear in the final battles of the Jaredites, although there is no specific indication they were made of metal (Ether 15:15).

The evidence from the Book of Ether indicates that the Jaredites arrived with a sophisticated knowledge of ferrous and non-ferrous metallurgy. Based upon the evidence from the Book of Mosiah, they did not abandon it during their history in the new land. The Jaredites are not the only group in the Book of Mormon demonstrating advanced metallurgical expertise. Nephite records offer ample evidence that metallurgy was important and practiced throughout their history as well.

NEPHITE METALLURGY

There are numerous references to metals and metallurgy in the Nephite account and it is clearly indicated, time after time, that the promised land possessed abundant metallic ores and that the Nephites possessed the skills to recognize and take advantage of them. Just after the arrival of Lehi's party in the promised land, they found "all manner of ore, both of gold, and of silver, and of copper" (1 Ne. 18:25). In listing the skills he taught his people, Nephi records that he taught them to work in "all manner of wood, and of iron, and of copper, and of brass, and of steel, and of gold, and of silver, and of precious ores, which were in great abundance" (2 Ne. 5:15). It is later reiterated that the promised land "doth abound most plentifully" in gold, silver, and "all manner of precious ores" (Jacob 2:12). The abundance of these resources is spelled out in detail. Both the Nephites and Lamanites became rich and possessed "an exceeding plenty of gold, and of silver, and of all manner of precious metals, both in the land south and in the land north" (Hel. 6:9). The land south was called Lehi, the land north Mulek, and "there was all manner of gold in both these lands, and of silver, and of precious ore of every kind" (v. 11).

Among the Nephites as among the Jaredites, wealth was repeatedly referred to in terms of metals, generally gold and silver (Jarom 1:8; Mosiah 19:15; 22:12; Alma 1:29; 4:6; 17:14; 31:24; Hel. 12:2; 3 Ne.

6:2) but also copper, iron, brass, and steel (Jarom 1:8). When Nephites became wealthy, gold and silver were mentioned as a measure of that wealth. When flight was necessary, silver and gold along with flocks and herds were often among the items taken along.

The earliest mentioned example of metallurgy among Lehi's group occurred when Nephi made a bellows of animal skins to help smelt ore for tools to build the ship taking them to the promised land (1 Ne. 17:8-16). Later after Nephi's group had separated from the Lamanites, Nephi taught his people to work in iron, copper, brass, steel, gold, silver, and precious ores (2 Ne. 5:15). There were specialists in metallurgy—"curious workmen, who did work all kinds of ore and did refine it" (Hel. 6:11).

Metals are the only materials specifically mentioned in connection with Nephite swords, which appear to be the weapon of choice among the Nephites as they were among the Jaredites. The swords discussed in the Nephite accounts include both actual and metaphorical references to swords. The first sword mentioned in the record is the sword of Laban, with its hilt of "pure gold" and blade of "most precious steel" (1 Ne. 4:9). This sword accompanied Lehi's party to the promised land, and there Nephi "after the manner of it did make many swords" to be used in defense of his people (2 Ne. 5:14).

The Book of Mormon suggests additional forms given to metals in Nephite society. For example, the people "became exceedingly rich in gold, and in silver, and in precious things, and in fine workmanship of wood, in buildings, and in machinery, and also in iron and copper, and brass and steel, making all manner of tools of every kind to till the ground, and weapons of war—yea, the sharp pointed arrow, and the quiver, and the dart, and the javelin, and all preparations for war" (Jarom 1:8). A monetary system with names and comparative values of different pieces of gold and silver is described (Alma 11). Ornaments of gold and idols of gold and silver also are mentioned (31:28; Hel. 6:31). The brass plates were carried from Jerusalem, and sacred writings among the Nephites were engraved on plates of gold.

The importance of metallurgy suggested by these frequent references to the metals themselves is confirmed by Nephite use of metaphors about metallurgical processes. For example, the word "dross" is employed metaphorically. Dross is the waste product of smelting, the impurities which rise to the surface above the heavier molten metal. When cool, dross is a newly formed rock consisting of oxides, silicas, and other components of the ore in which the metallic mineral occurred. Dross has the usual qualities of a hard rock in that it resists erosion and deterioration unless subject to mechanical and/or chemical breakdown. The context for the word "dross" in two passages in the Book of Mormon record suggests that the speaker and audience

understood the metallurgical process the metaphor implies (cf. Ps. 119:119; Prov. 25:4, 26:23; Isa. 1:22, 25; Ezek. 22:18-19). "Therefore they were not permitted to enter into their synagogues to worship God, being esteemed as filthiness," the text explains. "Therefore they were poor; yea, they were esteemed by their brethren as dross; therefore they were poor as to things of the world; and also they were poor in heart" (Alma 32:3). Later it is explained, "[T]herefore, if ye do not remember to be charitable, ye are as dross, which the refiners do cast out, (it being of no worth) and is trodden under foot of men" (34:29). Such apt metaphors suggest that metallurgical processes were an important and generally understood feature of Nephite life.

METALS AND METALLURGY IN MESOAMERICA

The Book of Mormon indicates that there was an abundance of gold, silver, and precious metals in both the land north and the land south. Such metals should then be discoverable in the areas chosen as Book of Mormon lands by Sorenson and Hauck. Some areas of Latin America are rich in precious minerals and other ores, but the areas chosen by Sorenson as the scene of the Book of Mormon are not among these areas. Mineralogical maps of Mexico show no deposits of gold, silver, copper, or other ores in the states of Veracruz, Tabasco, or Chiapas (see de Miranor and de Gyves 1986, 140; Arbingast 1975, 135). A major source of gold and silver exists in Oaxaca located in the north central portion of the state near its border with Veracruz. A few scattered deposits of copper, silver, gold, and other ores can be found in the highlands of Guatemala, although the most significant are located near the present frontiers with Honduras and El Salvador (Arbingast et al. 1979, 11, 27, 35). If current assessment of these resources reflects what was available in the past, it does not appear to have had the great wealth of metallic ores described by the Book of Mormon.

Scholars generally agree that metallurgy was probably introduced in Mesoamerica near the beginning of the Postclassic period (about C.E. 900). Metallurgical technology was probably diffused to Mesoamerica from South America, where it had been invented 2,500 years earlier. Thus Sorenson's date of 3000 B.C.E. for the Jaredite arrival produces difficulty in accounting for their work in metals and metallurgy. There is no evidence for metal working at this early date in either the specific area chosen by Sorenson or in Mesoamerica generally. As already suggested, the Archaic lifeway seems to have prevailed in Mesoamerica, including what would later be the Olmec area, until about 1500 B.C.E. Sites from this period which have been tested have provided no evidence for metallurgy. During the following pre-Olmec developments and the Olmec civilization, there is no indication that metallurgy was practiced.

What may be the oldest piece of metal from Mesoamerica (from the site of Cuicuilco in the Valley of Mexico) noted by Sorenson *may* date as early as about the first century B.C.E. (1985, 278). However, I know of no confirmation of a date that early. In fact it has been suggested by Emil Haury, one of the project archaeologists although not the one who excavated the piece, that the metal was from an Aztec period reuse of a Preclassic mound (1975, 199). Additionally there is no evidence that the artifact singled out by Sorenson was produced in Mesoamerica. Even if this piece should prove to have been produced in the proper time (Late Preclassic period) and place, we would still be left with 2,900 years of Nephite and Jaredite metallurgy unaccounted for in the archaeological record.

It has been suggested that the Olmecs can be identified with the Jaredites by Sorenson and others. No evidence has been found that metallurgy was practiced by the Olmec civilization. One might argue that the lack of evidence does not prove the lack of metallurgical activity. Thus the relevant question becomes: What kind of surviving evidence might be expected in the humid tropical climate of the Olmec heartland in what is now the states of Tabasco and Veracruz, Mexico? Somewhere there should be the mining localities and their associated tools, processing localities and the remains of the metal objects that were produced. Even if we assume that the mining and process localities have remained undetected, what about the metal objects produced by the Jaredites?

In Mesoamerica and other areas, objects considered valuable or precious often were included in burials and caches. Some Olmec burials and caches have been excavated, particularly at the site of La Venta in the state of Tabasco, Mexico. Objects found in these burials and caches include iron-ore mirrors, shell, ceramic vessels and figurines, and items made of jade and serpentine. An important cache was discovered recently in the Olmec heartland at the site of El Manatí where there is a spring located a few kilometers south and east of the large Olmec site of San Lorenzo (Ortiz et al. 1988). The cache contained surprisingly well-preserved perishable materials, including wooden sculptures, bundles of rubber, serpentine axes, and ceramic vessels. But there is no evidence of metal artifacts in the burials or caches thus far excavated—or in other archaeological contexts for that matter—for this early time period.[10]

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10. Gold in particular would not be corroded. Although looting of sites has occurred throughout history, it seems unlikely that all tombs or other areas thus far excavated either were looted in earlier times or that all metals were taken away when the final inhabitants left.

Palmer has suggested that the iron-oxide-ore mirrors utilized by the Olmecs were examples of Olmec period metallurgy (1981, 114). John B. Carlson has explained, however, that these naturally occurring pieces of iron-oxide ore were worked by hand rather than smelted (1981, 118). All three major iron-oxide ores, magnetite, hematite, and ilmenite,[11] were used to produce the mirrors. These ores are all found in naturally occurring deposits, some of which were located and exploited by Preclassic/Formative period peoples. Iron ore lumps of suitable size were selected and taken home to be worked by cutting, grinding, and polishing. A Mössbauer spectroscopic analysis indicated that some of those from the Early Formative period found at the Olmec site of San Lorenzo came from Oaxaca (Pires-Ferreira 1976, 324).

A mirror production area discovered in household clusters at the site of San José Mogote in the Oaxaca Valley revealed the various stages of processing from unworked iron ore lumps through finished mirrors. These mirrors are of various geometric shapes, generally thumbnail-sized, with a flat surface, and are highly polished on one or both sides. Larger concave iron-ore mirrors from the Middle Preclassic period are found in Olmec and other sites. Numerous lines of evidence indicate that these were used as pendants by the elite. The techniques used to make these mirrors do not qualify as metallurgical techniques but are those associated with stone tool making. A study by Carlson of the Olmec mirror lapidary technique (his term) is based on experiments he carried out which reproduced the grinding and polishing techniques used to produce the mirrors (1981, 122-23). Sorenson does not suggest that use of the iron ore lumps to make mirrors was metallurgy but offers it as an example of the use of iron minerals (1985, 285). One might question, however, whether any of the Book of Mormon references to iron could fall under this category.[12]

Sorenson raises some intriguing and legitimate questions about the presence of metal artifacts in contexts earlier than the Postclassic at Mesoamerican sites. Most of these artifacts date to the Classic period, although one example of copper may date as early as the first century B.C.E. (1985, 278-79; 1976, 1-8). Sorenson suggests that the question about metal in Mesoamerica should shift from "Why was there no metal in early Mesoamerica" to "Why do we recover so little evidence

11. As defined by Lapedes 1974: magnetite, "an opaque iron-black and streak-black isometric mineral and member of spinel structure type, usually occurring in octahedrals or granular to massive form" (966); hematite, "an iron mineral crystallizing in the rhombohedral system; the most important ore of iron" (738); ilmenite, "an iron-black, opaque, rhombohedral mineral that is the principal ore of Titanium" (797).

12. References to iron in the Book of Mormon include: 1 Ne. 8:19; 8:20; 8:24; 8:30; 11:25; 13:5; 20:4; 2 Ne. 5:15; 20:34; Jarom 1:8; Mosiah 11:3; 11:8; 3 Ne. 20:19; Ether 10:23.

of the metallurgical skill that was surely there?" (1985, 279). The question could better be phrased: Where did the metal artifacts found in Classic period contexts in Mesoamerica originate; that is, do they reflect a local metallurgical tradition?

Karen Bruhns has explored the issue of early metals in southern Mesoamerica in a well-researched article and remarks that the Maya had some access to metal objects from the Early Classic period onwards. After a review of the information available about these early metal objects, she concludes that the "only relatively certain statement that can be made is, with the possible exception of the Soconusco disks ... all Classic period metal objects found in Mesoamerica are obviously southeastern in manufacture" (1989, 221). This means that these artifacts were made not in the Maya area or in another region of Mesoamerica but in lower Central America.

If these metal objects were available to the Maya by at least Early Classic times, then the obvious problem becomes explaining why the Maya did not begin producing their own metal artifacts given the availability of gold, silver, and copper in eastern Guatemala, western Honduras, and El Salvador. Bruhns suggests that the southern Mesoamericans lacked adequate pyrotechnology to make the transition to successful metallurgy (1989, 224). Specifically they lacked the technological prowess to attain and maintain the necessary temperatures to smelt metal. The ceramics from the area were fired in poorly controlled open fires, which often resulted in fire-clouding and incompletely oxidized areas. Only by the Late Classic and Early Postclassic periods does evidence exist that the Maya had begun producing ceramic vessels in controlled firing situations, including kilns. The adoption of the Central American metallurgical technology occurred in the Maya area soon after the production of Plumbate pottery began. Plumbate pottery has a vitrified surface and, according to Bruhns, the "temperatures which produce the characteristic vitrification of Tohil Plumbate are precisely those which are appropriate for smelting" (1986, 226).

Recognizing the importance of the topic, Sorenson has again addressed metals and metallurgy in a recently published study aid (1992b). After a brief discussion of the kinds of problems involved with interpretations of statements concerning metals and metallurgy in the Book of Mormon, he provides information that he considers useful in dealing with the problems. His information includes a summary of statements found in the Book of Mormon about metals, ores and metal processing, an annotated bibliography of sources focused upon the Old World metallurgical background of Book of Mormon peoples, an annotated bibliography on pre-Columbian metalworking in the New World with an emphasis on Mesoamerica, an index to the bibliographies, and a table of probable and possible pre-C.E. 900 Mesoamerican metal speci-

mens. Bruhns' article is not included in the bibliography and its inclusion in future versions might be a useful addition.

My comments on Sorenson's metals and metallurgy study aid will focus on the table (Part 4). The table is presented in an easy to use manner with references, dates, number and kinds of specimens, and an "evidence rating." Sorenson has rated the certainty of the identification, analysis and dating of the specimens based on the information available, with category "A" reserved for pieces excavated by archaeologists in datable contexts. There are four categories (A through D) with a fifth category (I) reserved for specimens for which information is incomplete but which offer interesting possibilities. The question that has again not been considered is whether the specimens were of local manufacture or represent trade pieces from lower Central America. The majority of the specimens date to Late Classic times falling outside of the Book of Mormon period. The few that are genuinely Early Classic or slightly earlier seem to be trade pieces not produced in the area. We are still left with virtually the entire span of time covered by Book of Mormon events with no metallurgy in the area chosen by Sorenson.

Among the specimens in Sorenson's "I" category are some copper finger rings from the site of La Libertad in Chiapas, Mexico. Sorenson (1992b, 46, 75) notes that Donald E. Miller (1977, 19) one of the principal investigators at the site, reported two Classic period burials from near the surface of a mound and a Postclassic burial containing the rings from near the surface of another mound top. Sorenson suggests that the presence of the metal alone is not enough to make it Postclassic and states that there is no other evidence at the site for a Postclassic presence. He reassigns it to the Late Classic period at C.E. 600-900. La Libertad is a particularly interesting site because it not only falls within the area of Sorenson's model but has been advanced as a candidate for the city of Manti from the Book of Mormon (see Table 2 below). Several seasons of investigations were carried out at La Libertad by the New World Archaeological Foundation (NWAF) in the mid-1970s as a part of an extensive project in the Upper Grijalva Basin. While several preliminary papers have been produced concerning the site and one publication about the lithic artifacts (Clark 1988), information about most of the excavations is currently under preparation for publication. As a part of the NWAF team that mapped and excavated at La Libertad in 1975, I participated in the excavation of a burial near the surface of a low mound which contained a large copper bell as an offering. Miller, who is currently preparing material from La Libertad for publication, provided the following information (Miller 1992). During the 1976 season many more burials were located including Burial 26 which contained the copper finger rings mentioned by Sorenson. There is no reason to suppose that these burials pertain to the Classic

period. Explorations in the immediate area of La Libertad revealed the presence of a Postclassic site, within a few hundred meters of the ceremonial precinct, with a considerable quantity of pottery fragments on the surface. Other burials located at La Libertad included complex Late Preclassic burials and Late Classic burials, none of which contained any metal artifacts. Upon comparing the grave types, orientation and furniture of those burials assigned to the Classic and Postclassic periods, there are obvious differences. As far as the excavators are concerned, there is no reason to assign the metal specimens from La Libertad to any period earlier than the Postclassic period.

In addition to questioning the completeness of the picture left by archaeological evidence, Sorenson suggests that use of metals among Book of Mormon peoples was primarily ornamental. He argues that after the reference in Jarom 1:8 about gold, silver, iron, copper, brass, and steel for weapons of war, the references to metal are either actually or in an implied sense references only to precious metals. In other words he is suggesting that after that time, utilitarian objects were no longer made of metal. This approach downplays the importance of metals and offers alternate interpretations for the various types of tools and weapons mentioned in the Book of Mormon. Others have taken this approach as well. William Hamblin and Brent Merrill (1990) suggest that swords referred to in the Book of Mormon could be wooden sword-like weapons with inset stone blades used by Aztecs, Maya, and others at the time of the Spanish conquest. This weapon, called *macuahuitl*[13] in Náhuatl, the language of the Aztecs (or Mexica), existed in both two-handed and one-handed varieties. Among Aztecs these weapons were made of hardwood with grooves along both edges. Sharp obsidian or flint blades were glued into the grooves. Often the blades formed an almost continuous cutting edge, but in some cases there were gaps between the blades. The one-handed swords were, according to one investigator, "76 to 102 millimeters (3-4 inches) wide and a little over a meter (3.5 feet) long." The two-handed ones were about as tall as a man and four inches wide (Hassig 1988, 83, 85). The ends of these weapons were usually flat rather than pointed, although there were several possible sword shapes.[14]

That the macuahuitl was an effective weapon is attested to by Spanish accounts. Bernal Díaz del Castillo, a soldier who participated in the conquest of both Mexico and Guatemala, reported the damage

13. Alternative spellings of this word are *macquahuitl* and *maquahuitl*. The Spaniards also used the Taino term *macana* for this weapon, which was probably easier for them to pronounce. See Hassig [1988], 83.

14. Hassig mentions rectangular, ovoid, and pointed shaped macuahuitls (1988, 83).

done by the "fearful broadswords" of the Tlaxcallans and how such a broadsword was used to cut off the head of a mare (1955, 190). A description of the swords used by the Yucatec Maya at the time of the Spanish conquest is found in several of the historical-geographical accounts produced in response to a questionnaire sent out by the Spanish crown in 1577. Question fifteen of the questionnaire in part inquired about how native peoples were previously governed, whom they warred with, and how they fought. One of the weapons mentioned in the response from Motul was described as a two-edged sword made of a black wood called *chulul*, which was hard like bone (*Relaciones* 1983, 1:9, 271). The length of the sword is given as five *palmas* (with one *palma* corresponding to about 8.25 inches, the sword would be 41.2 inches long) and a width of three *dedos* (one dedo is a 48th part of a *vara* which is about 33 inches, making the sword a little more than two inches wide). From the towns of Tiab and Tiek on the Yucatán peninsula swords made of the same type of wood are described as being four *palmas* long and three *dedos* wide (Ibid, 320). Further information from the same towns indicates that daggers were also made of *chulul* wood.[15] Wooden sword-like weapons were not confined to Mesoamerica. The Incas also possessed such a weapon made of hard black *chonta* palm wood (Kendall 1973, 104).[16]

There was a sword-like weapon present in Mesoamerica and other areas of the New World at the time of the Spanish conquest but there are problems making it fit into a Limited Tehuantepec Book of Mormon scene. One must be willing to accept that the swords mentioned in the Book of Mormon were not of metal even though the only type of material ever specified for swords is metal. But perhaps ultimately more difficult is the necessity of assuming that swords similar to the wooden swords in use during the Postclassic period also existed during the Middle and Late Preclassic and Early Classic periods. One also must assume that these weapons were present in the proper areas during those time periods. There is very little evidence from the archaeological record to support these latter two assumptions.

One of the problems involved in assessing when the macuahuitl came on the scene in Mesoamerica is the inconsistent way in which the term has been applied by scholars. The term has been applied to the sword-like Aztec weapons and to others similar to them in use at the

15. Some of the wood daggers had a stone point.

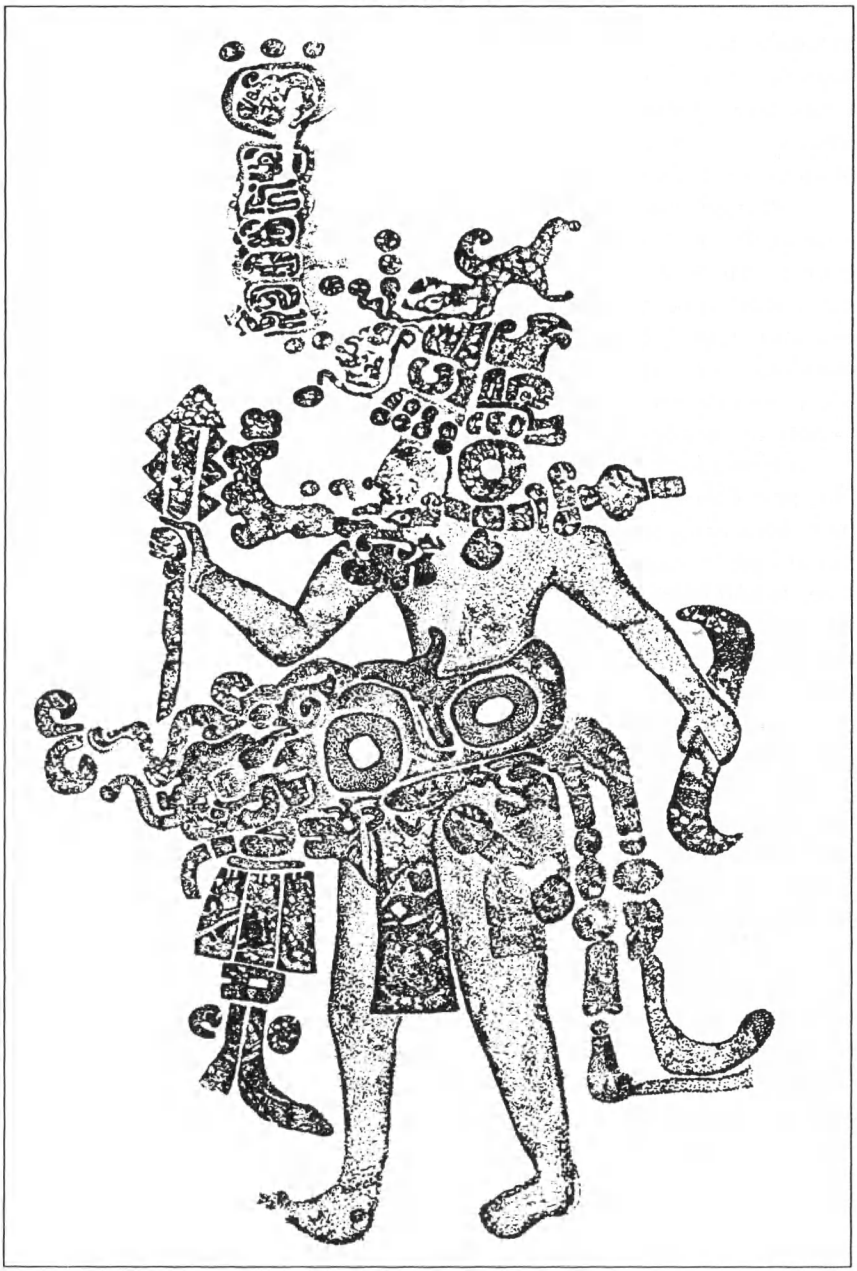
16. The Inca variety measured about 1.2 m long and 10 cm wide. According to Kendell (1973, 104), "The *macana* is a stick made of *chonta* palm wood about one *braza* long, four fingers wide, thin, and with two sharp edges; it ends in a rounded hilt and a pommel like a sword." See Cobo 1990, 218.

time of the conquest. That these weapons have some points of similarity to Old World metal swords has been noted. But scholars also have applied the term "macuahuitl" to several types of weapons which are more like war clubs with an area of inset flint or obsidian blades near the top (Follett 1932, 386, Fig. 16). In his discussion of Aztec arms and armor, Hassig notes that he can find no depictions of the typical Aztec macuahuitl predating the Postclassic period, although several Early Postclassic depictions from Chichén Itzá and one from the eighth century C.E. at the lowland Maya site of Bonampak show clubs with blades on sides, which may be earlier variants of the macuahuitl (1988, 85).

After sorting through the difficulty with terminology, it becomes clear that no evidence has been discovered which documents that the broad-sword type of macuahuitl was in use during the period covered by the Book of Mormon. Hamblin and Merrill offer several examples of early depictions of the macuahuitl, but these are the war-club type rather than the broad-sword type (1990, 340, 349n14). Their discussion of the macuahuitl demonstrates the difficulties which can arise when applying this term to Book of Mormon contexts. Their earliest example is a bas-relief sculpture from Loltún Cave in Yucatán, which is dated stylistically to the Late Preclassic/Protoclassic period (150 B.C.E. to C.E. 250; Freidel and Andrews 1984, 2). This sculpture, known as "El Guerrero" or the warrior, presents a male figure in a striding posture with face and feet in profile. The right arm is held before the figure with the elbow bent and the fingers clutching an ax-like object while the left arm is extended behind the figure with an "s"-shaped element in the hand. The figure is very richly attired, but the drawing of the figure (see Illustration 1) in Hamblin and Merrill fails to show many of the significant features of the regalia and must have been redrawn from an early source (1990, 339). After a careful study of the figure, Freidel and Andrews have suggested that it represents a Maya ruler who bears several of the icons of kingship seen in later representations of Classic period rulers (1984, 2).

Hamblin and Merrill, as have some others, call the object in the right hand of the figure a macuahuitl. If it is a macuahuitl, it is of the war-club type, rather than the broad-sword type. Its configuration makes it unlikely as an object which could be referred to as a sword. The figure is gripping the object near its mid-point, and the area of inset blades (if that is what is represented) takes up only about the upper one-third of the object. Freidel and Andrews confirm this conclusion, suggesting that the object is an axe containing three hafted blades, and mention several other examples of somewhat similar axes known in Maya iconography. They point out the importance of the ax as a symbol of Maya rulership and its use in the name of the office or title (*Ah Batab*) held by Maya rulers.

Illustration 1.



Rubbing of a sculptured figure from cave of Loltun, Yucatan, Mexico (in Morley et al. 1983, 82). A simplified line drawing of this figure appears in Hamblin and Merrill 1990, 339. Permission to reproduce the Hamblin and Merrill rendition was declined by Deseret Book.

Hamblin and Merrill discuss an additional example of an early macuahuitl from the Maya area falling within Book of Mormon times. This object is depicted on Stela 5 from Uaxactun in the Guatemalan Petén (see Greene et al. 1972, 309). The object is not identical to that from Loltún Cave, but it is also of the club type and is shown gripped at about its mid-point by the individual carrying it.

Although Hamblin and Merrill admit that evidence for the presence of the macuahuitl in Preclassic times is sparse, they cite the presence of the widespread obsidian blade industry as additional proof that "some type of macuahuitl sword was known and used in Book of Mormon times" (1990, 340). This is not a convincing argument since obsidian was the basic household cutlery in many areas of Mesoamerica for several millennia, and obsidian blades had a wide variety of uses beyond the macuahuitl.

A closer look suggests that even the examples singled out by Hamblin and Merrill ultimately demonstrate that the few artifacts which have been categorized as macuahuitls from the Preclassic (here the Terminal Late Preclassic or Protoclassic) and Classic periods were not like swords and were not used in the manner of swords. Follet notes in his study of Maya weapons that what he classifies as the standard type of Maya macuahuitl is "more in the nature of a war-club or mace than the true broad-sword type of macuahuitl" (1932, 386). I am aware of no evidence presently available suggesting the existence of the sword type of macuahuitl during the period covered by the Book of Mormon.

Even if the two examples from Loltún and Uaxactun discussed above were acceptable portrayals of early Mesoamerican swords, they would not extend the existence of the swords far enough into the past or into the appropriate area. There would still be a block of over 3,000 years during which there was no recognized acceptable correlate for the sword of the Jaredite era and the early Nephite era.

One might still argue that the club-type macuahuitl functioned as did the swords mentioned in the Book of Mormon. As we have seen in the above examples, however, this short club-like weapon is shown clutched at about its mid-point, indicating that it was not used in the fashion a sword is used. We know that Jaredites and Lehi's party all knew what a sword was when they arrived in the promised land. The Book of Mormon tells us that one metal sword was always available to the Nephites. The sword of Laban was passed from ruler to ruler as a kind of national icon and legitimizing symbol of rulership. No one who had seen the sword of Laban would be confused about what a metal sword was. And in fact this sword was the prototype for the swords made by Nephi to arm his people against attack by the Lamanites (2 Ne. 5:14).

If thereafter some fundamental change was made in the nature of

the weapon used by the general populace, we might expect that this would be reflected in the language. For example, when the Spaniards arrived in Mesoamerica with their metal swords, the Aztecs developed their own word for the weapon, a term which both recognized its similarities to the macuahuitl but also noted its differences. The word "tepuzmacquahuitl" was formed of the words "tepuztli" meaning iron or copper and "macquahuitl," the name of the native weapon. If a similar change in weapons had come about among the Nephites, one might expect a similar alteration or addition to the original term such as wooden sword or stone sword. There is never any indication in the Book of Mormon that metal swords are not being referred to, and metal swords are the only type ever specifically mentioned.

An additional point Hamblin and Merrill do not consider is whether the macuahuitl was in use in the proper area of Mesoamerica at any time, including the era of Spanish contact. The weapon is usually known from and discussed in the context of its use among groups in Central Mexico, Oaxaca (Spores 1965, 969, 973, 976, 982, 984), and the lowland Maya area. At the time of Spanish contact, the two-handed type of macuahuitl was noted among Maya groups in the Highlands of Chiapas, and the Chiapanecs of the Central Depression are said to have had clubs "like macanas" (Diaz del Castillo 1955, 2:145, 135), which is in the area chosen by Sorenson and Hauck.

Concerning swords, in summary, no case has been made that metal swords existed in Mesoamerica before the Spanish conquest and, at the present time, there is no evidence that the broad-sword type of macuahuitl existed during the proper times and places to fit the Limited Tehuantepec model. The analysis I have conducted concerning swords could be applied to armor and other weapons mentioned in the Book of Mormon. In some cases there is no difficulty in locating the particular item in a Mesoamerican setting at the time of European contact and earlier. For example, shields of various types and materials were found throughout Mesoamerica at the time of the Spanish conquest and in areas of South and North America as well. Other items of war gear including head-plates, breast-plates, the cimeter, and the bow and arrow remain to be adequately addressed.

Tents

Tents are one of the most frequently mentioned utilitarian and military items in the Book of Mormon. The word "tent" occurs twenty times, the word "tents" forty-four times. Tents are mentioned in relation to both Jaredite and Nephite/Lamanite peoples, who would have been familiar with tents from the Near East. Because these groups originated in the Near East, the most straightforward meaning of the word "tent"

would appear to be a kind of portable collapsible structure made of some textile (often black goat hair in the Near East) stretched and supported by poles, ropes, and pegs. However, Sorenson makes the point that the word tent (*'hl*) in Hebrew could have many different meanings including hut, family, or tribe, and in the language of the Babylonians, a word from the same root meant city or village.

In the Book of Mormon, the word "tent" rarely appears in a metaphorical sense (see 3 Ne. 22:2//Isa. 54:2) but generally refers to an actual shelter or shelters. Sorenson suggests it is unlikely that the military carried collapsible portable tents through the tropical forest of the setting he has chosen. Instead he posits temporary shelters of brush or other readily available material as "tents." However, several clues in the Book of Mormon itself suggest the more usual meaning of "tent." For example, Lehi and his party *took* their tents and departed into the wilderness, and after traveling four days, they pitched their tents *again* (1 Ne. 16:12-13). At this time they were still in the Near East, but after arriving in the promised land, tents are mentioned as being *taken* in a number of instances. When the Nephites separated from the Lamanites, Nephi notes that he and his followers "did take" their tents and journeyed in the wilderness for many days, where they pitched their tents (2 Ne. 5:7).

This event occurs near the beginning of the Nephite record, but such references continue. Four hundred years later King Noah sent his army to destroy Alma and the people of the Lord, but having learned of the approach of the army, they "took their tents and their families and departed into the wilderness" (Mosiah 18:34). In another example, Alma had his people pitch their tents in the valley of Gideon after a battle between the Nephites and the Amlicites (Alma 2:20). Alma then sent out spies to discover the plans of the Amlicites. These spies reported that the Amlicites had joined a "numerous host" of Lamanites and were moving toward Zarahemla. In response the Nephites *took* their tents and departed toward Zarahemla (vv. 21-26). This Nephite army was apparently a large one, and tents were considered valuable enough that they took them along in spite of the fact that the enemy was moving toward a Nephite city. On another occasion Moroni took his army and "marched out with his tents into the wilderness, to cut off the course of Amalickiah in the wilderness" (46:31). It is rather difficult to imagine that this army or any of the groups in the previous examples took brush shelters with them as Sorenson speculates. These examples all suggest portable collapsible structures which could be moved from place to place.

Supporting this view of mobile structures is the fact that references to tents in the Book of Mormon most often involve a group "pitching" its tents. There is a verb in Hebrew which means "to pitch a

tent" and it refers to a specific kind of activity which would seem to preclude building or assembling a brush shelter.

The rare use of the word "tent" in a metaphorical sense confirms a common meaning of the term. The resurrected Jesus quoting (KJV) Isaiah 54:2 exhorts, "Enlarge the place of thy tent, and let them stretch forth the curtains of thy habitations; spare not, lengthen thy cords and strengthen thy stakes" (3 Ne. 22:2). Presumably Christ would be calling up a familiar image for his audience—that of the portable and collapsible tent with its supporting cords and stakes.

The first challenge associated with fitting the description of Nephite tents into a Mesoamerican context concerns the question of what material could have been used for making such tents. Typically a nomad's tent is made of animal hair or skins, which can be replenished while traveling. A trader's tent on the other hand is usually made of a material such as cotton which can be repaired during travel. A sustained military force would plan in advance for special needs. The Book of Mormon mentions tents often enough in the context of military activity to suggest a ready source of supply. In fact both military and civilians traveled with tents, suggesting that a tradition of tent-making was integral to economic life.

Archaeological, ethnographic, and linguistic records from Mesoamerica provide no evidence of a tent-making or tent-using tradition and, even more problematic, suggest no available material for making tents. The Book of Mormon frequently refers to sheep, goats, and other domestic animals, which could have supported a tent tradition, but there is no evidence that such animals were present in southern Mesoamerica before Spanish contact. Wild animals in the area which could have supplied either hair or skins for tent making are so small that they are unlikely candidates. Another possibility for tent material is cotton, but there is no evidence that it was ever used for that purpose. It seems unlikely that such a practical tradition as tent-making would die out in Mesoamerica. One would expect to find evidence of such a tradition in iconography or other art forms such as painted scenes on pottery or clay models, and in literary references.

Locating evidence of any kind of portable and collapsible structures for the necessary time period in the area embraced by the Limited Tehuantepec models, or even in Mesoamerica, remains a fundamental problem. The peoples of Mesoamerica dwelt in many kinds of houses at the time of the Spanish conquest and earlier. Beginning at least in the Late Preclassic period, the elite in some areas dwelt in elaborate buildings that are classified as palaces. Commoners throughout the area usually inhabited houses made of perishable materials. Some simple perishable structures were constructed for short-term use. These included field houses to take care of growing crops

and structures built to utilize seasonal resources. However, none of these were portable structures.

According to accounts written after the conquest, several sorts of portable structures were in use in Aztec (Mexica) military camps near the time of the Spanish conquest. In *Cronica Mexicana*, a late sixteenth-century account written by Hernando Alvarado Tezozomoc, a descendant of the rulers of Azcapotzalco, *tiendas* (often translated as "tents") are mentioned several times as being used in war camps set up by the Aztecs (Alvarado Tezozomoc 1975).[17] At least some of these small structures apparently were assembled from woven grass mats. One particularly large structure called *yaotanalalco* was the royal warehouse or depository, where arms and foodstuffs were kept. The presence of these structures at the time of Spanish contact is intriguing. However, they were found in central Mexico rather than in the area of the Limited Tehuantepec model. In addition they were known at the time of the conquest, about one thousand years after the end of the Nephite civilization. Again time and place do not coincide.

It is interesting to note that at the time of the Spanish conquest in the Andean region Inca tents were noted by the Spaniards in the large Inca military camp at Cajamarca.[18]

Based on what the Book of Mormon itself says about tents, the suggestion that the tents it discusses could have been portable woven grass shelters or other temporary shelters assembled from immediately available materials is not convincing. Unless we are willing to believe that an ancient tent-making tradition existed in southern Mesoamerica at the time of the Book of Mormon events of which no trace has been found, it is difficult to place the scene of the Book of Mormon there.

Plants

Many economically important plants are mentioned in the Book of Mormon, and some have proved difficult to locate in a Mesoamerican

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17. Azcapotzalco was a city located east of Tenochtitlan, the Aztec capital. The Aztecs were vassals of Azcapotzalco earlier in their history. But about 1428 with the aid of Texcoco and at least one other ally, they managed to conquer their former masters.

18. Juan Ruiz de Arce, one of the Spanish soldiers who accompanied Pizarro, wrote an account of his experiences during the 1540s. When the Spaniards arrived at the edge of the Valley of Cajamarca, where the Inca Atahualpa was camped with a portion of his army, Ruiz de Arce recorded that "The Indians' camp looked like a very beautiful city. ... So many tents were visible that we were truly filled with great apprehension. We never thought that Indians could maintain such a proud estate nor have so many tents in such good order" (Hemming 1970, 32, 549n32). In another early source, it is noted that among the Incas there were storehouses in the provinces which always contained ample supplies of food, clothing, tents, and weapons to provide for the garrisons in fortresses and on the borders of the land (Cobo 1990, 215).

setting. Plants are mentioned early in the Jaredite account, for the Jaredites took with them "seeds of every kind" (Ether 2:3). Clues about the practice of agriculture among the Jaredites are revealed in several passages. Soon after landing, they "began to till the earth" (6:13), and later they "did make all manner of tools to till the earth, both to plow and to sow, to reap and to hoe, and also to thrash" (10:25). The processing of grains, suggested here, is confirmed elsewhere. The Jaredites are said to have had "all manner of fruit, and of grain" (9:17), and grain is noted as one means of gaining wealth (10:12). Later specific plants, including corn, barley, neas, sheum, and the olive tree, are mentioned, as are products which imply the existence of specific plants, including "fine linen," vineyards, and wine presses (1 Ne. 13:7-8; Jacob 5; Mosiah 11:15).

An investigation of which plants were used and domesticated by ancient Mesoamericans can move in several directions, including the study of artistic representations of plants beginning with the Preclassic period, ethnohistorical accounts about plants dating from the Spanish conquest, and the archaeological record in some areas of Mesoamerica beginning with the Archaic period. Archaic period occupations with preserved plant remains have been discovered in caves and rock shelters in areas such as the Tehuacán Valley in central Mexico (MacNeish 1981, 31-47) and the Valley of Oaxaca (Flannery, Marcus, and Kowalewski 1981; Flannery 1986). These sites document at least part of the basic sequence of plant domestication in Mesoamerica, with evidence of such plants as maize, beans, squash, avocado, chili peppers, and the bottle gourd. Fortunately plant remains have been recovered from some sites dating to the proper time periods in the areas chosen by Sorenson and Hauck as possible Book of Mormon lands. For example, Martínez Muriel recovered plant remains in excavations at the site of Don Martín, Chiapas. This site is located near Santa Rosa, which is Sorenson's candidate for Zarahemla (Martínez Muriel 1978). Don Martín is a small site consisting of five raised mounds (perhaps used for public purposes) and a number of small structures which are probably the remains of houses. The plant remains were recovered from the excavation of several bell-shaped pits dating to the Protoclassic period (200 B.C.E.-C.E. 200). This period falls into the time frame during which Sorenson postulates the area was part of the land of Zarahemla. The seeds of more than fifty species of plants and other plant parts were among the remains recovered from the pits (Martínez Muriel 1978, 104). Identification of the plants was difficult because most of the remains were carbonized, but twenty-seven plants were identified as to species, ten as to family, and the rest were not identified. Several of those identified were domesticates, including the jack bean (*Canavalia*), manioc (*Manihot*), two species of maize (*Zea mays*), and two species of common

bean (*Phaseolus*). Other species that may have been cultivated include amaranth (*Amaranthus*), chili pepper (*Capsicum*), goose foot (*Chenopodium*), sunflower (*Helianthus*), tobacco (*Nicotiana*), and *Crescentia, Acromia mexicana,* and *sideroxilon tempisque.* Five wild plants were gathered: fig, palm, *portulaca, vitis,* and *annonaceae.*

At other archaeological sites in Mesoamerica dating to pre-Columbian times, pollen studies and studies of seeds and other plants have revealed similar plant assemblages. But thus far no Old World plants have been identified by the presence of their pollens or other remains. It is true that in 1982 a native American species of barley was found in an archaeological context dating to about C.E. 900 in Arizona. It is not an Old World import, however, and up to this point no evidence of the native American species has been found in Mesoamerica.

Animals

Like domesticated plants, domesticated animals form an important component of civilized life. The Book of Mormon mentions many different kinds of animals, for the most part those which would have been found in an Old World setting. Table 1 lists animals mentioned in the Book of Mormon and their possible Mesoamerican correlates as suggested by Sorenson (1985, 299). Animals such as the dog or honey bee, which present fewer problems for a Mesoamerican setting, are omitted.

Table 1.
Book of Mormon Animals and their Suggested Correlates[19]

Cattle, oxen, cows, calf	deer, bison, *camelidae*
sheep, lambs	sheep, *camelidae, paca,* or *agouti*
goats	brocket, deer
swine, sow	peccary (wild pig)
horses	horse, deer, tapir
asses	tapir, *camelidae*
elephants	mammoth, mastodon
curelom	sloth, bison, tapir, mammoth, mastodon
cumom	sloth, bison, tapir, mammoth, mastodon

Sorenson discusses the terminology used for animals in the Book of Mormon and notes that some labels are unclear. He mentions the frequent references to flocks and herds such as the following: "And they did raise many flocks and herds, yea, many fatlings" (Hel. 6:12).

19. A substantial part of this table is adapted from a similar one in Sorenson (1985, 299).

He suggests that these flocks and herds could have included deer and pigs (peccary) and various fowls such as turkey, Muscovy duck, Tinamou duck,[20] quail, pheasant, partridge, dove, currasow, cotinga, roseate spoonbill, macaw, chachalaca, and parrot (1985, 292-93). He also suggests that the term flocks could apply to hares, rabbits, *pacas*, *agoutis*, and even fattened dogs.

However, many of these animals may have been considered unclean for consumption by Nephites, who according to the Book of Mormon kept the Law of Moses (see, e.g., Jacob 4:5, Alma 30:3). We do not know if the Nephites kept the dietary laws but Nephi exhorted them to keep the performances and ordinances of the Law of Moses, inasmuch as it was expedient, until the law was fulfilled (2 Ne. 25:30). It is stated in 4 Ne. 1:12 that they "did not walk any more after the performances and ordinances of the law of Moses." If they had been keeping the dietary laws, it is unclear whether they abandoned the laws at that point.

If the Nephites kept the dietary laws associated with the Law of Moses, their classification of animals could have been based on those laws. The dietary laws given in the Old Testament state that only animals which have split hooves *and* chew the cud may be eaten. Prominent among such animals are cattle, sheep, and deer. In the Old Testament, prohibited birds are listed and laws are given concerning fish and other categories of animals. For example, the hare is declared "unclean" because "he cheweth the cud, but divideth not the hoof" (Lev. 11:6). It is further noted: "Nevertheless these ye shall not eat of them that chew the cud, or of them that divide the cloven hoof; as the camel, and the hare, and the coney: for they chew the cud, but divide not the hoof; therefore they are unclean to you" (Deut. 14:7). A further clarification explains: "And whatsoever goeth upon his paws, among all manner of beasts that go on all four, those are unclean unto you: whoso toucheth their carcass shall be unclean until the even" (Lev. 11:27).

Such passages indicate that those who kept the Law of Moses and its dietary laws would not have kept flocks of either lagomorphs (hares and rabbits) or rodents (agoutis and pacas) because those animals would have been considered unclean. This also would suggest that the *camelidae* (llama and alpaca), even if they could be shown to have been present in Mesoamerica at the proper time and place, would not have been considered sheep-like. Their characteristics as measured by the dietary laws would likely have rendered them un-

20. The Tinamou, of which there are currently four species in Chiapas and Guatemala, is not a duck. It belongs to the family Tinamidae and order Tinamiformes (Alvarez del Toro 1971, 9-11; Smithe 1966, 1-4, plate 1).

clean for consumption.

The question of dietary acceptability could be raised concerning other New World animals proposed as Book of Mormon correlates. Sorenson's suggestion that the reference to horses in 3 Nephi 4:4 indicates that their main use was for food rather than carrying goods should be examined within this context of diet (1985, 296). Logically the dietary laws could have formed the basis for categorizing or naming animals among Nephites. However, the same prohibitions would not have been in force among Jaredites. Jaredites are in fact noted to have had swine, which Nephites would have considered unclean (Ether 9:18).

There are several avenues of inquiry which might be pursued in considering what animals were found in Mesoamerica during prehispanic times: representations of animals in art, animal remains recovered from archaeological sites, and records from the time of the Spanish conquest describing the animals present. Trying to fit the Book of Mormon animals into the Mesoamerican setting creates many of the same kinds of problems encountered dealing with metallurgy, tents, plants, and other cultural categories. In order to make the model work, we must assume one of two things. Perhaps the actual animals named in the Book of Mormon existed in the proper area at the proper time although no evidence has yet been discovered to demonstrate this. Or perhaps many of the animal names found in the Book of Mormon actually refer to different animals present in the proper area of Mesoamerica at the proper time.

Difficulties beset either approach. It is difficult to argue, for example, that animals other than those named are being referred to when specific characteristics of an animal are described. For example, there are two references in Mosiah to people having burdens put upon their backs and being driven like a "dumb ass" (12:5, 21:3). Sorenson has demonstrated from a number of sources that when humans are confronted with animals they have not seen before they often give the animals names based either on their characteristics or on their similarity to previously known animals. When the name is based upon similarities to previously known animals, however, there is usually some qualifying term added in to point out the difference between the two animals. For example, the tapir was called *anteburro* ("formerly an ass") by the Spaniards who recognized both its similarities to and differences from an animal they were familiar with. What we do not seem to see in the Book of Mormon account is any indication that the animals named were merely similar in some respects to the animals whose names they were given. To more thoroughly explore this topic of animals, it would be necessary to look at the references for each animal mentioned in the Book of Mormon and then look at the evidence

available for Mesoamerica. For the purposes of this paper, I will single out the horse as a specific example.

References to horses are found throughout much of the chronological scope of the Book of Mormon, and in a number of instances horses are associated with chariots.[21] The earliest chronological reference states that Jaredites had "horses, and asses, and there were elephants and cureloms and cumoms" as well as cattle, oxen, cows, sheep, swine, and goats (Ether 9:18-19). Later the horse also appears on the list of animals which Lehi's party found in the land of promise when they arrived. The list also includes the horse, cow, ox, ass, goat, and wild goat (1 Ne. 18:25). Elsewhere the book explains that the people of Nephi raised many horses, along with "flocks of herds," "flocks of all manner of cattle of every kind," goats, and wild goats (Enos 1:21). Twice King Lamoni's horses and chariots are prepared for traveling (Alma 18:9-10; 20:6). Horses and chariots also are among the items which Nephites assembled before their battle with the Gadianton robbers (3 Ne. 3:22).[22] These references indicate that horses functioned in several areas to pull conveyances of some sort.[23]

Sorenson offers several possible candidates for the horse. One is the horse itself, but he also suggests the tapir and the deer. The suggestion that the horse was present in Mesoamerica during Book of Mormon times is problematic. The horse was present during the Pleistocene Epoch in the Americas but is considered to have become extinct after the end of the last Ice Age. Sorenson points out that horse bones have been found at several sites on the Yucatán Peninsula (1985, 295-97; 1992, 98-100). A brief publication reports studies of mammal bones excavated in Loltún Cave, one of the sites mentioned by Sorenson (Alvarez and Polaco 1983). The cave contains a number of connected caverns. Test excavations in one of these produced a wealth of osteological material, including a total of 1,824 bones and fragments assignable to 32 genera of mammals. Although no radiocarbon dates were available at the time the report was written, stratigraphic evidence indicates that the horse (*Equus*), bison (*Bison*), mammoth (*Mammut*), and dire wolf (*Canis dirus*) appeared only in Pleistocene levels and became extinct at the end of the Pleistocene. Henry Mercer, who

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21. In the Book of Mormon we find the word "horse" once, the word "horses" twelve times, the word "chariots" seven times (Hilton and Jenkins n.d.).

22. Nephites protected their horses, cattle, and flocks along with their provisions so that the robbers could not obtain them (3 Ne. 4:4).

23. Also found in 3 Nephi is Jesus' warning to the Gentiles that unless they repent, he will cut off their horses out of the midst of them and he will destroy their chariots (3 Ne. 21:14).

journeyed to Yucatán and excavated in a number of cave sites in the Uxmal area, reported finding the remains of horses in three caves—Sayab, Lara, and Chekt-a-leh (1896, 172). He suggested that these were European horses which were cooked and eaten in the caves because their remains were found in the latest layers with some teeth found on the surface at Sayab and Lara. At Chekt-a-leh the remains were in a disturbed rubbish heap, and their relation to any particular stratigraphic layer was uncertain.

The remains of horses also were found during the excavations at the Postclassic Maya site of Mayapan on the Yucatán peninsula (Ray 1957, 278; Pollock and Ray 1957, 635, 638). Two of the specimens are easily explained as modern because they came from surface lots. According to Ray, fragmentary horse teeth were recovered from Cenote Ch'en Mul near Mayapan, where they were found in the bottom layer "in a sequence of unconsolidated earth almost two meters in thickness" (278). They are considered pre-Columbian. Due to the degree of mineralization which was greater than that of any bone or tooth found near them, they are thought to be of Pleistocene age. Ray suggests that the Maya may have picked up the fossil teeth as curios and transported them to the site. At this point then there is no convincing evidence that the horse survived until the period of the Mesoamerican civilizations.

A final point that might be made concerning the presence of the horse during Preclassic and Classic times in Mesoamerica is that no ancient depictions of the horse have been found there. There are thousands of ancient art works which show native plants and animals of Mesoamerica, but in none thus far discovered are horses shown. Certainly the horse is an impressive animal, and it would be expected that it would be depicted along with the deer, jaguar, peccary, tapir, and other large mammals. Beyond mere artistic depictions, animals were integrated into the iconography and religion of the various groups. The Maya writing system, utilized in at least some parts of the areas chosen by both Hauck and Sorenson, portrayed many animals but the horse is not among them.

Problems also exist with the suggestion that the horses referred to in the Book of Mormon could have been deer or tapirs. It seems unlikely that both Jaredites and Nephites, who were well-acquainted with horses, would have mistaken a deer or a tapir for a horse. Their experience in the Old World should have led them to categorize the small New World deer and the squat stout tapir as animals considerably different from the horse.

There is little evidence suggesting that tapirs ever have been tamed or used as beasts of burden. They are extremely shy, hiding in the forest by day and coming out at night to feed. Although adults

weigh between 225 and 300 kilograms, they are short animals averaging about one meter in height which, even if domesticated for some purpose, seem unsuitable for riding (Janson 1981, 85). Recently Sorenson (1992a) has published an annotated bibliography concerning animals in the Book of Mormon. He lists several references that claim tapirs can be tamed if captured young. Navarrete (1987, 260), for example, quotes Fr. Agustin de Ceballos account of 1610 from Costa Rica that Indians reared tame tapirs in their houses which were sacrificed by prominent members of the group for fiestas. Navarete (240) also references the 1722 account of Fr. Ximénez who related that tapirs were raised for use in fiestas but were fierce and could not be domesticated. Frädrich (1972, 29) noted that young orphaned tapirs are often found in native villages in South America and that they let children ride on their backs. This same source states that German-Brazilian settlers have occasionally tamed them and on remote farms even used them to pull ploughs. No evidence has been offered that tapirs were being used for riding or to pull chariots or carts in pre-Columbian times or that they have been used to any extent for either purpose since the arrival of the Europeans.

Sorenson's evidence that deer could have been used for riding or as beasts of burden is also very thin, consisting of artistic representations on several Maya archaeological pieces. One of the pieces he mentions is a modeled censer cover of uncertain period from Poptun in the Guatemalan Petén. This piece depicts a male anthropomorphic figure astride a deer, whose antlers are missing and whose tongue appears to protrude (Kidder 1954, 11, Fig. 4c). The anthropomorphic figure clutches the ears of the deer, which is shown in a sitting position with hind limbs splayed unnaturally to each side and front limbs stretched out before it. The feet of the anthropomorphic figure touch the ground. The meaning of this figure is difficult to interpret, but possibly the deer is dead. This is suggested by its unnatural posture and protruding tongue and the fact that the figure, who may be a hunter, holds the head up by its ears.

A second archaeological piece mentioned by Sorenson is a stone monument from a site in Belize dating to about C.E. 700. This piece shows a woman holding on to the antlers of a deer while astride its neck. A check of the reference reveals that the scene actually occurs on a fragmentary Maya polychrome ceramic vessel recovered from a cave site (Pendergast 1969), an oversight remedied by Sorenson in his recent bibliography on animals (1992a, 27). There are a number of other figures on the vessel, and the excavator, David Pendergast, suggests that a ceremonial deer hunt is being portrayed. One deer in the scene is apparently dead or dying from still bleeding wounds, and the second has been hit by a spear shown protruding from the right hind leg. The deer

is being threatened with spears positioned on spear-throwers held by two hunters who face him. The bodies of two other hunters facing the deer from the opposite side are on the missing section of the vase. A woman is shown astride the neck of the still living deer, and she clutches the antlers with her left hand in what Pendergast terms "an anatomically impossible position" (45). Behind the woman a dwarf sits on an object which is impossible to identify because most of that section of the vase is missing. It is suggested that this scene parallels to some extent a scene found in the Dresden Codex and, based on the glyphs found on the vase, that the hunters are Maya deities rather than mortals.

There are many other depictions of deer on ceramic vessels from the Classic period in the Maya area. Some of these are realistic renderings while others clearly involve mythological or ritual matters, with deer as participants in a variety of scenes. Another example of an anthropomorph astride a deer is found in a scene on a Late Classic codex style polychrome vase which is one of three vessels with a similar theme. This style, apparently practiced for a fairly short period of time perhaps in a rather limited area of the northern Guatemalan Petén, produced some of the finest ceramic art of the ancient Maya (see Coe 1978; Robicsek and Hales 1981).

The three codex style vessels mentioned have a similar theme which has been called the "Death of the Old God" (Robicsek and Hales 1981, 20-21, 39, 110-111). The central figure on all three vessels is a deity with deer ears which investigators have labeled as the "Old God." who may be either God L or God N, the principal ruler of the underworld. Robicsek and Hales (111) have suggested that the two deities are actually aspects of a single deity. The Old God is shown lying on a platform, apparently near death or dead, surrounded by male and female attendants, including perhaps his consort. All of the male attendants have deer ears but the females do not. On each vase, a second focus of activity, involving a female anthropomorph or anthropomorphs and deer, takes place beyond the foot of the platform or bier and behind an attendant who kneels there. On two of the three vessels (Vessels 14 and 16 in Robicsek and Hales 1981, 20-21) there is a single deer and a single female anthropomorph.

In both cases the deer is portrayed standing in front of the female anthropomorph with its head turned back over its shoulder looking either toward the female or perhaps toward the scene at the bier. The female anthropomorphs associated with the deer on both of the vessels appear to be wearing dresses made of some transparent material leaving their breasts visible. They are each wearing a necklace and bracelets and one of the females is wearing a hat similar to that worn by the female astride the deer on the vessel from Actun Balaam discussed

above. Each female stands at about the mid-point of the deer's body and the one on Vessel 14 has her arms about the deer as she looks toward it. The female associated with the deer on Vessel 16 is looking back toward the scene on the platform and appears to be clutching a stick or spear in her right hand. She may be holding the deer with her left hand. The deer are portrayed with antlers and each has a rope around its neck and a band around the back and abdomen. On the third vessel (Vessel 15 in Robicsek and Hales 1981, 20), which has two female anthropomorphs and two deer, the female nearest the platform on which the Old God rests, is shown astride a deer. She is wearing a sheer garment which reveals her large breasts and other body features. She also wears a necklace, ear ornaments, bracelets, and a hat like that worn by the female on Vessel 14. Sitting astride the deer, she glances back over her shoulder at an area above the platform scene and her right arm is extended behind her. The antlered deer with a rope about its neck is rearing up on its hind legs as it faces forward. The other female and deer are just in front of it. This female has jewelry similar to that of the other but wears an elaborate headdress rather than a hat. Her arms are wrapped closely about the neck and over the back of a deer which she appears to be restraining as she glances backward.

There have been some attempts to interpret the scenes found on these vessels but none of those includes the suggestion that the Maya were actually riding deer as a means of transport. The general suggestion is that the scenes represent mythological events involving supernatural beings. Another codex style vessel illustrates (Vessel 140 in Robicsek and Hales 1981, 170) the erotic symbolism involving white-tailed deer among the ancient Maya. On one portion of the vessel an elderly male anthropomorph is shown sitting across from a partially nude young female anthropomorph. He leans on his right hand with the palm resting flat on the ground and reaches forward to the young female's breast with his left hand. These figures are identified as deities by the accompanying hieroglyphic text. The remainder of the vessel exterior is taken up by a scene showing a kneeling young woman opening her robe to reveal her nude body to an advancing male deer. Originally the deer was identified by name in the accompanying hieroglyphic text but that portion is now eroded. It has been suggested that the deer represents an aspect of the elderly deity.

Neither the depictions on the polychrome ceramic vessels nor that on the modeled censer cover present adequate evidence that deer were being ridden by the Maya. In addition, these examples come from the lowland Maya area, and no evidence has been presented relating to the area included within Sorenson's model.

Another point for consideration is that the sub-races of the white-tailed deer found in tropical climates in the Americas are significantly

smaller than those found in the northern latitudes.[24] This deer is one of the largest native mammals in the area chosen by Sorenson, but it is probably not large enough for riding. However, there is evidence that at least the Yucatec Maya tamed and kept deer. Diego de Landa, the sixteenth-century Spanish Bishop of Yucatán, wrote that Maya women suckled deer at their breasts and made them so tame that they never went into the woods (1941, 127). The practice of capturing and keeping deer in corrals or huts near houses continues to the present day in some areas on the Yucatán peninsula (Kintz 1990, 13-14).

The view held by most Mesoamerican scholars about the existence of pre-Columbian animals suitable for riding or as beasts of burden is summed up in a recently published volume about the ancient Maya. In discussing the kind of technology available to the Maya, Schele and Freidel note, "All they accomplished was done by means of stone tools, utilizing human beings as their beasts of burden: No animals large enough to carry cargo lived in Mesoamerica before the coming of the Spanish" (1990, 60).[25]

Sites

Sorenson and Hauck have both suggested correlations between sites described in the Book of Mormon and sites which have been investigated archaeologically. An important line of investigation thus becomes how well the actual Mesoamerican sites and their proposed Book of Mormon correlates match.

Sorenson has examined what is known archaeologically about each of the areas within the scope of his model. Table 2 lists his suggested archaeological correlates for Book of Mormon places.

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24. There are no less than thirty subspecies of white-tailed deer in North and Central America and eight in South America. Variations in coloring, cornation, weight, height, and length are significant (Halls 1984, 15-16).

25. Similar to the questions about the transfer of plants and animals between the Old and New Worlds are questions about the transfer of human populations. Sorenson provides an important service to his LDS readers in his section on biological anthropology by pointing out the Asiatic origin of the bulk of New World populations. His model is weak, however, because of his inability to present evidence for any ancient Near Eastern population in the area he has chosen for the Book of Mormon setting. He mentions an analysis of Mesoamerican crania from dated sites carried out by a Polish anthropologist, Andrzej Wiercinski, who found evidence of north and central Asian physical types as well as Chinese and Caucasoid features. This study can hardly be considered mainstream biological anthropology, because most features of cranial morphology are considered to be very responsive to environmental change and would not long remain unchanged. Studies of dental morphology are considered to hold more promise for population studies, and several have been carried out on skeletal populations from Mesoamerican sites. DNA studies offer new avenues for understanding the biology of pre-Columbian peoples (Cann et al. 1987; Pääbo et al. 1989).

Table 2.
Archaeological Correlations for the Sorenson Model

Archaeological Site / Modern Area	Book of Mormon Correlate
San Lorenzo, Veracruz, Mexico	Lib
La Venta, Tabasco, Mexico	Mulek
Oaxaca Valley, Oaxaca, Mexico	Land of Moron
near Minatitlan, Veracruz, Mexico	City of Desolation
Chiapa de Corzo, Chiapas, Mexico	Sidom
Comitan, Chiapas, Mexico	Gideon
Guajilar, Chiapas, Mexico	Zeerom
Ocozocuautla, Chiapas, Mexico	Noah
Mirador, Chiapas, Mexico	Ammonihah
San Isidro, Chiapas, Mexico	Aaron
Central Depression, Chiapas, Mexico	Land of Zarahemla
Santa Rosa, Chiapas, Mexico	City of Zarahemla
La Libertad, Chiapas, Mexico	Manti
near Motozintla	Antiparah
Vera Cruz II	Melek
El Chayal, Guatemala	Onidah
Chalchitan, Guatemala	Helam
Kaminaljúyú, Guatemala	City of Nephi
Frutal, Guatemala	Shilom
Cerro Vigia, Veracruz, Mexico	Cumorah
San Miguel, Tabasco, Mexico	Jershon
Santiago Atitlan, Guatemala	Jerusalem
San Lucas Toliman, Guatemala	Ani-Anti
Valley of Antigua, Guatemala	Land of Middoni
Chicomuselo area, Chiapas, Mexico	Judea
near Motozintla or Amatenango de la Frontera, Chiapas, Mexico	Cumeni
Huehuetenango area, Guatemala	Valley of Alma
Rio Blanco Valley or Malacatancito, Guatemala	Helam
near Acaycan and Hueyapan	Jashon and Shem
near Laguna Mecoacan or Tupilco, Veracruz, Mexico	City of Moroni

Within a single paper I cannot discuss all of these areas and sites. Rather I have chosen one site to illustrate the challenges encountered in trying to match Mesoamerican sites with descriptions of settlements in the Book of Mormon. My example is Santa Rosa, in Sorenson's model the site of Zarahemla.

There are important general points worth noting concerning the above sites, including Santa Rosa. Archaeological investigations at the sites represent only a limited sampling of the material remains, as they

do at most sites. Only some questions about the sites have been answered or clarified by the fieldwork. No further fieldwork is possible at a number of sites in Chiapas, including Santa Rosa, because they are now covered by the waters of the Angostura Dam; and the results of much of the final work done in that area remain to be published. Chances for learning more about the site of Kaminaljúyú in the Valley of Guatemala become increasingly slim as the modern capital city continues to engulf it. Additionally, many of the areas surrounding the sites have not yet been adequately surveyed.

SANTA ROSA/ZARAHEMLA

Descriptions of Zarahemla in the Book of Mormon can be used to develop a profile which an archaeological site should match in order to be considered a candidate for Zarahemla. According to the Book of Mormon, the city was located on the west bank of the Sidon (Alma 2:15, 25-27). Zarahemla was a walled city. After the Lamanite army under Coriantumr had entered the city, the chief judge Pacumeni fled from Coriantumr "even to the walls of the city," and Coriantumr killed him by smiting him against the wall (Hel. 1:21). Later when Samuel the Lamanite entered the land of Zarahemla to preach, the people would not allow him to enter the city, so he climbed the wall and preached to them from there (13:2-4). Those among the Nephites who did not believe Samuel as he spoke from the walls cast stones and shot arrows at him, but he was protected from blows by the spirit of the Lord (16:2). At the death of Jesus, Zarahemla and its inhabitants were burned (3 Ne. 8:8; 9:3). Later the city was rebuilt (4 Ne. 1:8).

A number of archaeological investigations have occurred at Santa Rosa in the state of Chiapas, Mexico—the site which Sorenson suggests comes closest to this profile suggested by the Book of Mormon. The first investigations there were carried out by Gareth W. Lowe in 1956 (1959, 49-52). He noted that Santa Rosa appeared to be the largest Preclassic site on the Grijalva River between the site of Chiapa de Corzo and the Guatemalan frontier. More intensive fieldwork was carried out by the New World Archaeological Foundation in 1958 (Delgado 1965). Located on the south side of the Grijalva River at its confluence with the Aguacate River, the site of Santa Rosa is composed of over forty earthen mounds. A cluster of twenty-eight mounds oriented along a general east-west line forms the central group (see Maps 4 and 5). Delgado noted that there is little planning in the architectural layout other than the general east-west orientation. The central portion of the site includes an area about 500 meters north-south by about 800 meters east-west. Mound W is the tallest at the site, reaching a height of 14 meters. Mound S, a platform measuring 74 meters east-west by 80 meters north-south, is the largest.

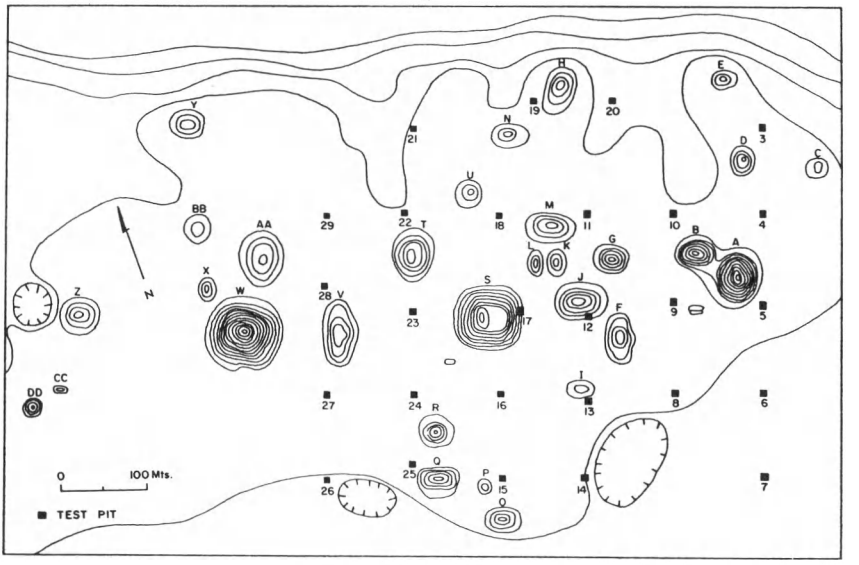
The excavations at Santa Rosa were adequate, although by no means as extensive as those at Chiapa de Corzo and other sites in the region. These excavations consisted of seventeen trenches in mounds and twenty-nine stratigraphic test pits (Brockington 1967, 1). The excavations revealed six periods of prehistoric occupation at Santa Rosa and one brief period of historic occupation (Brockington 1967, 4). Phase 1 is Middle Preclassic (800-600 B.C.E.) with no known associated architecture; the ceramic distribution suggests that a zone of scattered houses existed along the Río Aguacate. In Phase 2 (600-500 B.C.E.), also Middle Preclassic, Brockington postulates from his study of ceramic distribution that there was a clustered village with a moiety or dual division indicated by two separate parallel areas of potsherds (1967, 60). The village was oriented in relation to a ceremonial structure (Mound V).

During Phase 3 (500-50 B.C.E.) there was further ceremonial construction (Mounds G and W), and the two parallel areas of potsherd concentrations continue although they are longer and wider, indicating that the basic Phase 2 arrangement continued but with a greater population. Phase 4 (50 B.C.E.-C.E. 200) was a time of cultural florescence at Santa Rosa with considerable construction in the ceremonial center. According to Brockington, the areas of potsherd concentrations seen in the previous two phases survive but have more complex patterns. He sees this as evidence that a basic moiety division continued to exist (1967, 60-61). As further evidence he mentions a layer of gravel atop Mound S at the site center. The gravel on each side of a median line was different and unmixed, suggesting that a separate group made each section.

Phase 5 begins at about C.E. 200 and corresponds to the Early Classic period in the Maya area. Remains from this period are sparsely represented at Santa Rosa, and little construction can be assigned to this period. The population at the site seems to have declined significantly from Phase 4 times. Ceramic distribution is altered from earlier periods; a concentration now runs through the site center along a northeast-southwest line. This change probably indicates a break with earlier traditions. Brockington suggests that there may have been a hiatus of occupation between Phases 5 and 6. In Phase 6 (C.E. 800-1000) the settlement pattern was similar to that of Phase 5 and the population was close to the smaller population of Phase 5. A long hiatus of occupation at the site followed Phase 6. It lasted until after the Spanish conquest when the site was reoccupied for a short time, probably in the early nineteenth century.[26]

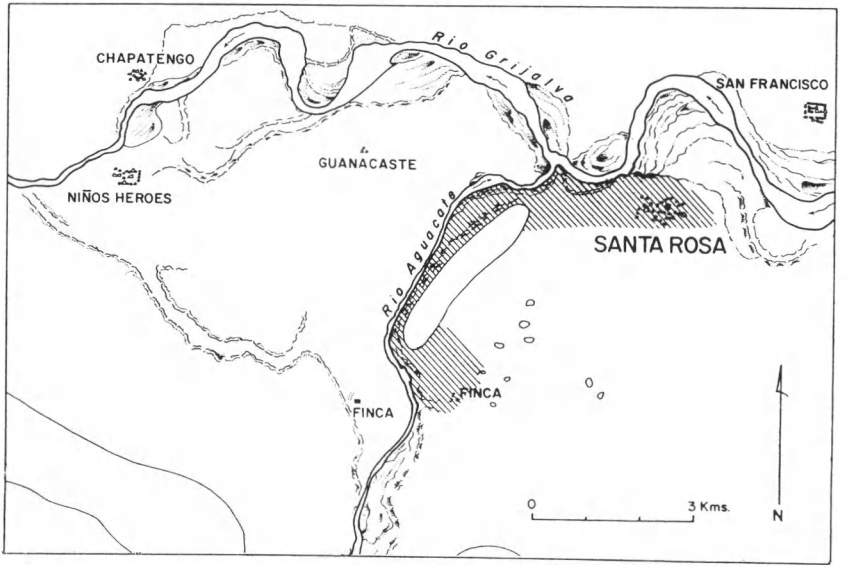
26. Brockington suggests that this period dates to C.E. 1800-50 (1967, 50).

Map 4.



Plan of Santa Rosa Archaeological Zone (in Brockington 1967, 2).

Map 5.



Map of vicinity of Santa Rosa, showing Phase 1 Settlement Pattern (in Brockington 1967, 58).

Excavations at Santa Rosa revealed nine burials and twelve caches from various phases. Only two burials, both from the Classic period, contained offerings. Animal remains recovered from the excavations include wild pig, ocelot, puma, tapir, white-tail deer, a few small bird bones, and a few mollusks. A large number of potsherds, a few whole ceramic vessels, and a good many anthropomorphic and zoomorphic figurine fragments from both Preclassic and Classic contexts were recovered. Other ceramic artifacts from Santa Rosa include musical instruments (ocarina, whistles, flute), ear ornaments, a pectoral (pendant), a cylindrical stamp, several flat stamps, a Late Classic figurine mold, several spindle whorls, and two double rings. The excavations produced some chipped stone artifacts, including a Classic period flint knife and some obsidian blades and flakes. A few ground stone implements were found, including celts, metates, manos, a mortar, a rubbing stone, several polishing stones, a number of gaming pieces, a palette, and a fragmentary saw or musical rasp. Ornaments found at Santa Rosa include a marble ear ornament and beads of jade, other types of stone, and shell. There was also a fragment of a shell mosaic and a shell trumpet. Several carved bone objects were found as was a fragment of a small incised wooden bowl, two small lots of hematite (useful for pigment), and a piece of mica. No metal artifacts were recovered nor were there any carved monuments or evidences of early writing.[27]

Sufficient data about the nature of the site and its occupation has been discovered to draw useful conclusions about how closely Santa Rosa matches the profile for Zarahemla suggested by the Book of Mormon. If the cardinal directions are shifted, as Sorenson's model requires, Santa Rosa is on the proper side of the river (west rather than south) and is the largest site on that side with remains dating to the proper period.

However, Zarahemla's other known features are difficult to correlate with what is known of Santa Rosa. One problem is Santa Rosa's lack of any city wall, a prominent feature of Zarahemla. None was detected on the ground when Santa Rosa was mapped, nor can any be seen in aerial photographs. In an article comparing Mesoamerican fortifications with those described in the Book of Mormon, Sorenson argued that walls can be difficult to detect if the materials they were constructed from were carried off by later peoples for use in construction elsewhere (1990, 428). However, discernable walls and fortifications dating to the late Preclassic period have been found at a number

27. Delgado does mention the presence of two stones that may have been plain monuments (1965, 36).

of sites in the Maya area, many of which experienced significant rebuilding during the Classic period. Such findings suggest that if defensive walls had existed at Santa Rosa, the cartographers or excavators would have detected their presence.

Sorenson suggests that the walls of Zarahemla were probably made of "heaps of earth" (1990, 436). But in order to accommodate the events which occur in Zarahemla he must postulate a wall which Samuel the Lamanite could scale from the outside but which was vertical on the inside, forcing his pursuers to exit through a gate. Such a city wall would allow those outside the advantage of a position from which to attack the populace but could not be climbed from within.

Sorenson focuses on the division of habitation in Santa Rosa into two zones and the layer of gravel with its two separate divisions under the plaster floor on top of Mound S dating to Phase 4 (50 B.C.E.-C.E. 200). He suggests that the two groups involved could have been the people of Zarahemla and the people of Nephi (1985, 156). This seems unlikely because the dual division of the population is discernable as far back as Phase 2 (600-500 B.C.E.) and is seen to continue through Phase 3 into Phase 4. The pattern of settlement at Santa Rosa was established long before the people of Nephi would have arrived at the site.

Evidence of fire is also a possible means of comparing the sites, since Zarahemla and its inhabitants were burned at the time of Jesus' death. A few structures tested at Santa Rosa showed some evidence of burning, but not all episodes of burning occurred at the proper time nor is there any evidence of a general episode of burning at the site of the type suggested by the Book of Mormon account.

The relation of Santa Rosa to other sites in the area is another means of comparing Santa Rosa and Zarahemla. Sorenson suggests a correlation between Chiapa de Corzo, another site in the area, and Sidom. Santa Rosa was the largest site on the south side of the Grijalva within its immediate area, but it is much smaller than Chiapa de Corzo. Delgado has noted that "Santa Rosa, in spite of its relative grandeur compared to most early sites on the upper Grijalva, was rather poor when compared with Chiapa de Corzo at the lower end of the Central Depression. The latter was apparently a far richer and better-constructed ceremonial center, probably as a result of its position at a more important cultural crossroads" (1965, 79). Thus for Sorenson's correlation of sites to work, Zarahemla would need to have been a small, rather isolated regional center while Sidom was the major population and trade center in the area—a major revision of the profile suggested by the Book of Mormon.

It is difficult then to find evidence for the correlation between Santa Rosa and Zarahemla which Sorenson proposes. Although I have

chosen to discuss only Santa Rosa, there are similar difficulties in making the correlations with other suggested sites.

The major problem with evaluating the plausibility of the correlations which Hauck suggests has to do with the extent of the evidence he has offered. As Hamblin pointed out in a review of Hauck's model, many of his sites are known only to himself because they were documented as a result of his own explorations (1989, 72). We do not have the maps, plans, and archaeological data from these sites needed in order to evaluate the claims made for them. It is not fair, however, to conclude that "Hauck apparently went driving through Mexico or Guatemala, found some ruins, and has declared them to be from Nephite times" (Hamblin 1989, 72). Hauck is a professional archaeologist whose thesis and dissertation were both written about field projects he carried out in Mesoamerica. He notes that by 1986 he had conducted six Mesoamerican field expeditions in connection with his research (1988, xiii). Still the problem remains. Until the information concerning the sites is available, it is impossible to evaluate how well they fit the descriptions of Book of Mormon sites.

The Jaredites

In my opinion one of the greatest challenges that Sorenson must meet is his placement of Jaredites with their highly advanced culture in Mesoamerica at about 3000 B.C.E. Jaredites are the earliest group described in the Book of Mormon arriving from the Near East. Jared, his brother, the brothers' friends, and all of their families were preserved from having their language confounded at the time of the "great tower" (Ether 1:33-37).

The Book of Mormon makes clear that this group was at a complex level of sociopolitical organization and that they brought with them much of their knowledge and skill. Their subsistence was based on farming and herding in the Old World, accomplishments that had millennia of development behind them. The Old World subsistence base of the Jaredites is established early on in the account when they are instructed by the Lord to "Go to gather together thy flocks, both male and female, of every kind; and also of the seed of the earth of every kind ..." (Ether 1:41). Beyond the flocks and seeds, Jared and his company also carried with them fowls, fish, honey bees, and "all manner of that which was upon the face of the land" (2:2-3). When the group came to the great sea that divided the lands, they pitched their tents on the seashore and lived in tents for four years (v. 13). After this interlude, they built under divine guidance barges or vessels for sea travel. Before boarding the vessels, they prepared food for "their flocks and herds, and whatsoever beast or animal or fowl that they should

carry with them" (6:4).

After 344 days on the water, they arrived on the shores of the promised land (Ether 6:11). After their arrival, they began to till the earth, reflecting the continuation of their previous lifeway (vv. 12-13). Before the deaths of Jared and his brother, the Jaredites grew in numbers, had a king named Orihah appointed to reign over them, prospered, and became exceedingly rich (vv. 18, 22-28). Jaredites thus were reestablishing, if on a smaller scale, the same level of sociopolitical complexity they were accustomed to in the Old World. Jaredite society was hierarchical rather than egalitarian with an elite ruling class. During the reign of King Kib, the grandson of Jared, the political institution of the Jaredites is specifically called a kingdom.[28] Within this context of a kingdom, thrones are specifically mentioned in relation to Jaredite rulers. For example, Jared sat on a throne to give audience and was murdered there by Akish (9:5). Whether the Jaredite kingdom was more similar to a chiefdom or to an incipient state could be debated, but it certainly was a stratified society.

Throughout the Jaredite account in the Book of Ether, many cultural clues are available concerning the lifeway of the Jaredites in the promised land. Jaredite metallurgy and tents have already been discussed. In addition "money" is mentioned as are fruit, grain, silks, fine linen, gold, silver, cattle, oxen, cows, sheep, swine, goats, horses, asses, elephants, cureloms, and cumoms (Ether 9:11, 17-19).

Jaredites have been correlated with Olmecs in most Limited Tehuantepec models. This equation is from the outset problematic since the Olmec civilization as currently understood occupied only a portion of the time block set aside for the Jaredites. Olmec civilization is generally dated between 1200 and 400 B.C.E., leaving most of the Jaredite period in pre-Olmec times. Thus earlier groups in Mesoamerica also must be considered.

According to Sorenson's dating, the Jaredites migrated about 3000 B.C.E., placing their arrival in Mesoamerica in the latter part of the Archaic period. Sorenson states that by about 3000 B.C.E. corn farmers were living in villages and "displayed skills in pottery manufacture at a number of locations in south-central Mexico" (1985, 110). This seems to be too early for the current dating of the beginning of ceramics in Mesoamerica. This beginning is dated no earlier than about 2400 B.C.E. at Puerto Márquez, where a large shell mound site is located on a

28. When Kib was held in captivity by his son Corihor, another son by the name of Shule made steel swords to be used in battle against his brother "by which means he obtained the kingdom and restored it to his father." Shule's father bestowed the kingdom upon him, and Shule "spread his kingdom upon all the face of the land" (Ether 7:9-11).

lagoon on the Pacific Coast of Guerro, Mexico, and about 2000 B.C.E. in the Tehuacán Valley of Puebla, Mexico (Adams 1991, 37, 41).[29] Corrections of the C_{14} dates could push these dates back somewhat but likely not 600 years.

The archaeological manifestations in the Isthmus of Tehuantepec area and Mesoamerica generally at 3000 B.C.E. consist of a few small horticultural villages and groups of Archaic hunters and gatherers. These are difficult to correlate with the advanced lifeway of the Jaredites outlined in the Book of Mormon.

On the north-central coast of Veracruz, the site of Santa Luisa has yielded abundant remains from the Archaic and Formative periods (Wilkerson 1981). The site is an occupational zone stretching for about a kilometer along a deltaic island in the river mouth. During the Palo Hueco Phase (4000-2400 B.C.E.) of the Archaic period, a permanent village apparently existed at Santa Luisa, but no ceramics are associated with this village. Subsistence appears to have been based entirely on fishing, hunting, gathering, and collecting shellfish. There is a gap from about 2400 to 1700 B.C.E. in the occupation of Santa Luisa as it is presently understood. Ceramic technology seems to have been introduced to the area during the hiatus because it is present in the following Early Formative Raudal Phase (1700-1450 B.C.E.). Maize was not yet included as a major staple. It is only in the following Almería Phase (1450-1350 B.C.) of the Early Formative period that there are indicators of the presence of maize.

In the Oaxaca Valley, which some models include in the Jaredite lands, the first evidence of houses and pottery found thus far is attributed to the Espiridion complex from the site of San Jose Mogote and dates between 2000 and 1400 B.C.E. (Flannery et al. 1981, 65). Other areas of central and southern Mesoamerica which have been tested indicate similar patterns. This, of course, does not mean that earlier occurrences of pottery or farming villages could not be found by future investigators in the areas chosen for the Limited Tehuantepec models. But, in general, the lifeway of the peoples in those areas during the proper time period does not seem to correlate well with the picture of Jaredite civilization.

It is assumed that most of these Mesoamerican groups were at a

29. The settlement at Puerto Márquez seems to have been a semi-permanent village. Additionally, the earliest known examples of New World pottery have been excavated by an American and Brazilian team from a shell midden near Santarém in the Brazilian Amazon. A thermoluminescence date on the pottery and calibrated accelerator radio carbon dates on charcoal, shell, and pottery are from approximately 5000-6000 B.C.E.—dating at least 1,000 years earlier than the earliest pottery previously known which was found in northern South America (see Roosevelt et al. 1991).

band or tribal level of social organization which was egalitarian rather than stratified. There is some evidence for the development of chiefdoms in the Soconusco region of Chiapas, Mexico, during the Lacona Phase (about 1650 B.C.E.) (Clark and Blake 1989). This is still about 1350 years after the suggested arrival of the Jaredites in 3000 B.C.E. Where are the cities, rulers, thrones, metallurgy, and sophisticated practices of the Jaredites?

Recent archaeological investigations have continued to highlight the sophistication of the Preclassic Mesoamerican developments, including the Olmec civilization. The Olmec civilization came on the scene by 1200 B.C. with all of the longed-for accoutrements of civilization.[30] But Olmec civilization still seems very different from the Jaredite civilization described in the Book of Mormon. As discussed above, the metallurgy, plants, and animals ascribed to the Jaredites have not been found in connection with the Olmecs.

Conclusions

This study has attempted to evaluate critically some of the major arguments associated with two models of Book of Mormon geography based on the Limited Tehuantepec concept. Although Sorenson and Hauck suggest some interesting possibilities, both models have geographical difficulties which have not been satisfactorily resolved. With Sorenson's approach one must accept that the Nephites rotated their system of cardinal directions 60 degrees or more to the west even though they had several means of ascertaining directions once they arrived in the promised land. One must also accept that this orientation was maintained throughout Nephite history. Finding Hauck's geographical model plausible requires creating two lands of Bountiful and accepting a coastal corridor as the narrow neck of land.

If somehow one decides that these geographical problems can be ignored or solved at a future time, a review of the archaeological evidence associated with any Limited Tehuantepec model reveals additional problems that remain to be solved. In this essay I have considered in a brief way the topics of metallurgy, tents, plants, animals, and sites. I have not ventured into other important areas such as biological anthropology, linguistics, and ancient writing systems. There are significant challenges in those areas which remain to be addressed. For example, at least five writing systems were developed in

30. The Foundation for Ancient Research and Mormon Studies (FARMS), headquartered at Brigham Young University, recently has noted the evidence of large Olmec settlements as a supporting factor in placing Jaredite cities in that area (*FARMS Update*, Mar. 1991.)

ancient Mesoamerica, but no one has convincingly demonstrated a link between any of them and any Near Eastern derived system or to anything resembling the Anthon transcript.

To be fair, Sorenson informs his readers throughout his study that he is making suggestions about possible correlations in each area considered. But after an entire book of such suggestions, it is possible to come away with the impression that the correlations have been made successfully. Sorenson suggests that his model is plausible, that "the setting described could reasonably have been" as he represents it. He states that he does not insist that "specific Book of Mormon people must be identified with particular sites, structures or artifacts"; however, "at some points the fit between scriptural specification and external fact" seem to Sorenson to "have passed beyond mere plausibility to the level of probability." He comments, "As the saying goes, if the shoe fits, wear it" (1985, xx, 188).

At this point, it is time to ask whether either the Hauck or Sorenson model has achieved this degree of probability. This is a question that each must answer in her or his own way. For me these models require too many changes and arbitrary interpretations, too many deviations from the plain meaning of the words in the text of the Book of Mormon, for either of them to achieve even a partial fit with the geographical and archaeological evidence. There are too many areas where one must either assume that evidence exists but has not yet been found or that something other than the words actually used were intended. Using this sort of approach, the Book of Mormon scene could be superimposed on just about any area of Mesoamerica or the Andean region and even some areas of the present United States. One would only need assume that the plates, which are no longer available, were the only surviving examples of the writing.[31] Too much side-stepping of this sort can lead to the absurd.

These remarks should not give the impression that correlations of the sort Sorenson and Hauck have attempted are easily made. There are numerous examples from the Near East of the problems involved in correlating ancient accounts, including the Bible, with the interpretations of archaeological findings. Approaches to such problems in that area include not only a careful evaluation of the archaeology but of the text as well. Although archaeology is not an exact science, it continues to develop and refine its questions. As investigations continue in an area such as Mesoamerica, certain patterns concerning the lifeways of the people during various time periods are revealed. The lifeways currently outlined by archaeologists for peoples in the areas of

31. Some support for such an argument could be drawn from Jacob 4:2.

Mesoamerica chosen by the various Limited Tehuantepec models cannot be said to match well with those presented for the Book of Mormon peoples. Both Jaredites and Nephites/Lamanites are depicted as following an Old World lifeway brought with them from the Near East, which included specific plants, animals, and technologies.

Sorenson has called up numerous examples of findings from throughout Mesoamerica and beyond to show that the record is not settled on such problems as the presence of horses, sheep, barley, and the early practice of metallurgy. However, most of the references Sorenson cites are problematic in some way or another. His method is a bits-and-pieces approach involving a large area and all time periods rather than the specific area and time he has selected, failing to take into account the specific cultural processes and developments in that area. Seeking to support Sorenson's model, researchers have offered numerous examples of cultural practices and items found at sites located in what is now the Department of Petén, Guatemala, or the Yucatán Peninsula of Mexico, which includes the modern day states of Campeche, Yucatán, and Quintana Roo. These are the areas where many of Maya civilization's greatest achievements occurred. Yet neither Sorenson's nor Hauck's model is able to successfully incorporate these areas.

Does the shoe fit for the current Limited Tehuantepec theory models? Rather than a comfortable "Cinderella" fit, it is more like a "stepsister" mismatch, requiring considerable remodeling of shoe and foot.

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CHAPTER 9

"A Record in the Language of My Father": Evidence of Ancient Egyptian and Hebrew in the Book of Mormon

Edward H. Ashment

The Book of Mormon purports to be a history of the ancient inhabitants of the western hemisphere (Title Page).[1] It proclaims a civilization of literate[2] city- and road-builders, craftsmen, metallurgists, husbandmen, explorers, and warriors[3]; and of faithful Christians

1. For its claim that the Words of Mormon through Moroni is history, see 1 Ne. 9:2; 2 Ne. 4:14, 5:33; Jacob Heading; 1:2, 3.

2. See Alma 33:3, 4; Hel. 3:15; 8:11; 3 Ne. 27:5.

3. The Nephites were farmers, horticulturists, and ranchers (Enos 1:21) who worked industriously with their hands to "build buildings" and "work in all manner of wood, and of iron, and of copper and of brass, and of steel and of gold, and of silver, and of precious ores" (2 Ne. 5:16-17.). They explored and settled throughout the Western Hemisphere, even attempting to resettle lands from which Lamanites had driven them (see Omni; Mosiah 7ff; Alma 22:29ff; 63; Hel. 3). The earlier "Jaredite" civilization was similarly described (see Ether 9:16-19; 10:22-27).

In contrast, in just one generation (from Jacob to Enos) Lamanites had degenerated into a people "led by their evil nature that they became wild, and ferocious, and a blood-thirsty people, full of idolatry and filthiness; feeding upon beasts of prey; dwelling in tents, and wandering about in the wilderness with a short skin girdle about their loins and their heads shaven; and their skill was in the bow, and in the cimeter, and the ax. And many of them did eat nothing save it was raw meat; and they were continually seeking to destroy [the Nephites]" (Enos 1:20).

Later in the Book of Mormon, however, Lamanites were apparently no longer that degenerate. Although they delighted in robbing the Nephites (Alma 17:14), and their "more idle part ... lived in the wilderness, and dwelt in tents" (22:28), they too were ranchers (watering their flocks at the water of Sebus) (Al: 17), who had a king who ruled over vassal kings (20:4, 8-9), who transported themselves in horse-driven chariots (18:9), and who built cities, synagogues, and palaces (21:2, 4-5; 22:2; 23:2, 4, 9-13).

whom the resurrected Jesus visited for three days (3 Ne. 26:13),[4] even delaying his appearance to the "lost tribes of Israel" in order to spend more time with the Nephites (17:4ff). Because the Nephites eventually apostatized from Christianity, God allowed the Lamanites to destroy them.

The Book of Mormon declares that its singular story was recorded "in the language of the Egyptians" (1 Ne. 1:2). Near the end of the book, after chronicling a thousand years of Nephite history, its close ties with Egyptian are again emphasized. It claims that the part abridged after 385 C.E.[5] was written in "characters which are called among us the reformed Egyptian, being handed down and altered by us, according to our manner of speech." This unusual writing would be unintelligible to everyone else in the world (Morm. 9:34) and therefore would require supernatural means for translation (v. 32).

Finally the Book of Mormon claims that in 600 B.C.E. its founding colonists brought a book of Jewish scripture with them to the New World. Called "the plates of brass" (in 1 Ne. 3:3),[6] it was allegedly written by Jewish scribes "in the language of the Egyptians" (Mosiah 1:4).[7]

Given its unique claims, the following become relevant questions for investigation: Is the Book of Mormon a translation of ancient records written in Egyptian and "reformed" Egyptian language or characters? Are there "wordprints" of the various orators and authors which the book introduces? Can traces of the original language(s) be found in the "literal" English translation: "Hebraisms" and "Egyptianisms"? Answers to such questions are crucial in the face of increasingly numerous

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4. See 3 Ne. 10:18-19 where Jesus declared to righteous Nephites and Lamanites, the only ones to survive the crucifixion holocaust (9:13), that "So great faith have I never seen among all the Jews; wherefore I could not show unto them so great miracles, because of their unbelief ... there are none of them that have seen so great things as ye have seen; neither have they heard so great things as ye have heard" (vv. 35-36).

5. The dates provided for Book of Mormon chronology are taken from the footers of the current (1981) LDS edition of the book.

6. Neither Egyptian nor Hebrew had a word for "brass." *Hsmn* is "bronze" (*Wb.* 3:163); *neHushah* is "copper or bronze" (*HAL*3 647f.) Brass was not known in Egypt before Roman times and, except for a local zinc impurity in bronzes from 1400-1200 B.C.E., was unknown in Palestine until Roman times (Forbes 1971, 267-89).

7. That record was considered to be so important that one of the most pious Book of Mormon characters killed its owner, one of his relatives, to get it (1 Ne. 4). Those plates, which would have been written in Old-World Egyptian, were destined to be "kept and handed down from one generation to another, and be kept and preserved" supernaturally "until they should go forth unto every nation, kindred, tongue, and people" (Alma 37:4). They and other "plates which do contain that which is holy writ" would never tarnish (v. 5).

apologetic claims about how the Book of Mormon was produced and the historicity of its contents. This essay examines evidence of ancient Egyptian or Hebrew in the Book of Mormon, discussing first the claims made in the book itself, then those made by Joseph Smith and his associates, and finally those made by modern apologists.

Book of Mormon Claims About Itself

According to the Book of Mormon's descriptions of itself, only about 27 percent of the text, the "small plates" section, would have been composed in a form of Egyptian resembling Old-World Egyptian. That would be because it was written within the first years after the Nephites arrived in the New World. Quotations from the brass plates included throughout the book would also have resembled Old-World Egyptian, but the rest would have been written in the "reformed" language. Thus the small plates section, because it would be most like its Old-World antecedents, is the most amenable to comparative analysis in a search for evidence of ancient Egyptian and Hebrew.

The relationship between "language" and "characters" in the Book of Mormon is uncertain, but a bilingual civilization with Egyptian as its literary language and Hebrew as its everyday language would be improbably unique. Thus the term "language" (1 Ne. 1:2) may mean "characters" (as in Morm. 9:33, 34), and the Nephites would be regarded as Hebrew-only speakers. More difficult to explain is the statement that Egyptian characters were so "reformed ... *according to our manner of speech*" (emphasis added) that they would have been unintelligible. This would be an unparalleled phenomenon, for writing systems are notoriously conservative, even after the languages they represent have changed considerably (see Gelb 1963, 223-24).

How the Book of Mormon relates itself to Hebrew is problematic, for it does not mention Hebrew until near the end. Moroni explains that Hebrew characters were not used even though they were superior to Egyptian, because Hebrew characters would have taken up too much space. The assumption seems to be that Egyptian characters were somehow conceptual and thus capable of conveying more information: "And if our plates had been sufficiently large we would have written in Hebrew." Unfortunately "the Hebrew hath been altered by us also; and if we could have written in Hebrew, behold, ye would have had no imperfection in our record" (Morm. 9:33).

That the Nephites would have considered Hebrew at all is remarkable, since everything Jewish was suppressed from the beginning. Only a few years after arriving in the New World, the Judahite Nephites could no longer understand Isaiah, one of the major Jewish prophets, because their first leader Nephi purposely had "not taught

my children after the manner of the Jews" (2 Ne. 25:6).[8] For from the beginning the Nephites were Christian in orientation, with many early nineteenth-century American theological concerns (see the essays by Charles, Thomas, and Vogel, in this compilation).

Joseph Smith and His Associates

Joseph Smith, using his seer stone, claimed to possess the supernatural means that the Book of Mormon declared would be necessary to interpret this unique document. As he explained it, God singled him out and gave him a divine gift to perform this very thing as his exclusive and only spiritual calling (BoC X:2).[9]

His contemporaries, some directly involved with the production of the Book of Mormon, described how he used this gift (see Ashment 1980, 10ff). They declared that the Book of Mormon was a literal, word-for-word translation of characters from ancient gold plates.[10] Smith saw these characters along with their direct English equivalents in his seer stone, which he placed in a hat so he could see the spiritual light more clearly. He then dictated the English equivalents to his scribe (Van Wagoner and Walker 1982, 51-52).[11]

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8. Throughout its history the Book of Mormon claims that the Egyptian brass plates served as the Nephites' source for such Jewish records as "the five books of Moses ... And also the prophecies of the holy prophets," including "many" of Jeremiah's prophecies (1 Ne. 5:11, 13; see Omni 1:14; Mosiah 1:3, 16; 3:10; 28:11; Alma 37:3; 3 Ne. 1:2)—a virtual Old Testament up to the time of Lehi. Such a collection presumes an orderly, intentional composition of the Law ("The five books of Moses") and the Prophets ("the prophecies of the holy prophets")—two of the three major components of the Old Testament—before 600 B.C.E., apparently as the authors, to whom the various books were attributed, wrote. But that does not accord with the evidence. Deuteronomy, originally written ca. 620 B.C.E., was the core around which the various narratives were collected which eventually became "the five books of Moses." These were composed after the Babylonian captivity, ca. 400 B.C.E. "The Prophets" did not take form until ca. 180 B.C.E. (Perrin and Duling 1982, 435-36; see Barr 1983, 50; and Rowley 1963).

9. Later the wording of the revelation was expanded to make the production of the Book of Mormon the threshold of his spiritual gifts, so that after he finished it, God would give him more to do (1835 D&C 32:1).

10. That the plates were anything more than a revelation is open to question. Note Warren Parrish's answer to E. Holmes in a letter of 11 August 1838: "Martin Harris, one of the subscribing witnesses, has come out at last, and says he never saw the plates, from which the book purports to have been translated, except in vision; and he further says that any man who says he has seen them in any other way is a liar, Joseph not excepted" (1838, 226). This agrees with Book of Commandments (BoC) IV.4: "for I will give them [three witnesses] power, that they may behold and view these things as they are." Compare Moses 1:11: "mine own eyes have beheld God; but not my natural, but my spiritual eyes."

11. As early as September 1829, Martin Harris described Smith's translation process: "The treasure consisted of a number of gold plates about 8 inches long, 6 wide, and one

Smith himself refused to say much about the process publicly, tersely informing his congregation that "it was not intended to tell the world all the particulars of the coming forth of the Book of Mormon." The most he disclosed about methodology was that he had translated the book into English "by the gift and power of God" (Van Wagoner and Walker 1982, 49). Accordingly, in a letter to James Arlington Bennett, he exulted: "truth is a matter of fact; and the fact is, that by the power of God I translated the Book of Mormon from hieroglyphics; the knowledge of which was lost to the world: in which wonderful event I stood alone, an unlearned youth, to combat the worldly wisdom, and multiplied ignorance of eighteen centuries, with a new revelation" (*Times and Seasons* 4 [1 Nov. 1843]: 373). About the language of the original, he simply declared that the "language of the whole" proceeded from right to left, "the same as all Hebrew writing in general," adding that his translation of the Title Page was "literal" (Smith et al. 1978, 1:71).

Although little evidence exists documenting Smith's *modus operandi* in such "literal" translations, two virtually identical translation documents have survived in the handwriting of Smith's scribes, Oliver Cowdery and Frederick G. Williams. Taken together these two documents provide an important glimpse into Smith's views of language and translation. Because they are not entirely identical, it is unlikely one was copied from the other. But because they are so nearly alike, it is probable they were produced simultaneously, in December 1835.[12]

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eighth of an inch thick, on which were engraved hieroglyphics. By placing the spectacles in a hat and looking into it, Smith interprets the characters into the English language" (*Gem* [Rochester, NY], 5 Sept. 1829).

Smith declared that the gold plates were bound together into a codex: "Tablets, tables, and plates, are all of the same import, and the mode of fastening *leaves*, plates or tablets together at the back with *rings*, is the same way the Book of Mormon was connected. We may, at some future day, pursue this subject far enough to convince honest people, that the stone tables of the Bible, and gold plates of the Book of Mormon, were constructed and carried alike" (*Times and Seasons* 3 [1 Sept. 1842]: 908).

12. Both Cowdery and Williams served as scribes to Smith from 1832 to 1835. Cowdery's tenure effectively ceased in late October 1835, while Williams's ended in January 1836. The previous summer Smith had purchased some Egyptian papyri and had been trying to decipher one of the scrolls as well as develop an Egyptian alphabet and grammar. Both Williams and Cowdery were connected with the Egyptian papyrus project. It is certainly conceivable that there would be heightened interest in the language of the Book of Mormon at this time, with its peculiar mix of Egyptian and Hebrew, just as Smith and his close associates were beginning to study Hebrew in earnest. As they were studying Hebrew with the prophet in December 1835 they must have asked him a question about the language of the Book of Mormon, requesting a back-transliteration, according to Williams: "Question asked in English & answered in Hebrew." Then they asked Smith to decipher four Book of Mormon Egyptian signs. Each man recorded the results for his own "profit and learning," in the words of Cowdery. For a discussion of the specious argument that the documents regarding ancient texts in the handwriting of Smith's

The translation documents consist of two parts: a transliteration of Book of Mormon English phrases into Hebrew (phonetically in English characters) as Smith apparently conceived it and the English equivalent of four Book of Mormon hieroglyphics. Figure 1 presents a composite of the transliteration portions of the two documents,[13] accompanied by a modern transliteration into Hebrew, in order to give readers an approximate idea of what a Hebrew transliteration should look like.[14]

Figure 1.
Transliterations from English into Book of Mormon Hebrew

Questions asked in English & answered in Hebrew

English	For it grieveth me that I should lose this tree & the fruit thereof
Hebrew Ans.	*ofin Zimim ezmon E, Zu onis ifs veris etzer ensvonis vineris*
[Modern transliteration:	*ki car li ki yo'bad li ha'ec hazzeh upiryo*]
English	Brethren I bid you adieu
Hebrew Ans.	*ifs E Zamtri*
[Modern transliteration:	*'aHay 'omar lakem shalom*]

The textual selections in the documents are from Jacob 5:13 and 7:27. Fresh out of Palestine, the Hebrew known to Jacob should have been biblical Hebrew. But as Figure 1 illustrates, it bears no resemblance to Hebrew at all.

Lack of any resemblance between Book of Mormon "Hebrew" and actual Hebrew from material on the small plates (written only fifty years after Lehi left Jerusalem) further confirms that the Cowdery and Williams documents date prior to January 1836, when Smith began his

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scribes were really attempts to compete with him, see Ashment 1990a.

13. For a facsimile copy of each, see Williams 1988, 16-17, who notes that there are several additional characters on the back of the Williams document. To date the LDS church has not allowed public scrutiny of that side of the document.

14. The LDS church recalled this publication, *Selections from the Book of Mormon in Hebrew* (1981), after Israelis became convinced that Mormons were planning to use the Brigham Young University Jerusalem Study Center as a proselyting base to convert Jewish people.

As elsewhere in this book, an eclectic transliteration of Hebrew, Aramaic, and Egyptian is used in this study for technical reasons. The transliteration of consonants is: alef='; bet=b; gimel=g; dalet=d; he=h; waw=w; zayin=z; het=H; tet=T; yod=y; kaf=k; lamed=l; mem=m; nun=n; samekh=s; ayin='; pe=p; tsadi=c; qof=q; resh=r; sin=S; shin=sh; taw=t. The length or brevity of vowels is not marked. The technical transliteration of Egyptian, which is given without vowels and in italics in the essay, is (following the standard alphabetical order): ', i, y ', w, b, p, f, m, n, r, h, H, K, S, s, sh, q, k, g, t, c, d, j. Capital "H" is used for Akkadian cuneiform hard "h."

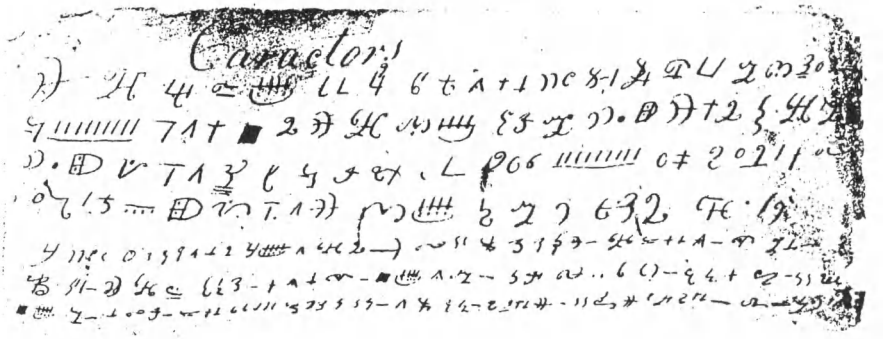
formal study of Hebrew. After that time all of Smith's Hebrew transliterations are recognizable as such.

Figure 2 presents a composite of the second part of the translation documents, which consists of two English phrases with the Book of Mormon characters immediately beneath.

Figure 2.
Decipherment of Book of Mormon Characters

The Book of Mormon **the interpreters of languages**

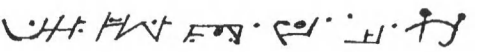
Figure 3.
Anthon Transcript Characters



These Book of Mormon figures cannot be identified as Egyptian hieroglyphic, hieratic, or demotic (or Meroitic). But they do resemble characters Smith said he transcribed from the golden plates for Charles Anthon, a professor of languages at Columbia University (Fig. 3). Also, in his project to translate the Book of Abraham from papyri, Smith filled in missing portions where the papyrus had flaked away with hypothetical characters resembling the figures in the Williams-Cowdery translation document (Fig. 4).[15] They too reflect no known form of Egyptian; but their similarity to the characters on the Anthon Transcript and to the Williams-Cowdery characters suggests a common origin.

15. For a discussion of the Book of Abraham characters, see Ashment (forthcoming).

Figure 4.
Restoration of Missing Portion of Papyrus



This part of the Williams-Cowdery documents tends to support the word-for-word translation hypothesis of most Book of Mormon apologists. For Smith produced twelve lexemes for the fourteen-word English text of Jacob 5:13 and four lexemes for the five-word clause of Jacob 7:27. However, none of the proferred lexemes reflects either ancient Hebrew or Egyptian, while they do resemble Smith's 1835 translation efforts on the Egyptian papyri.

When Smith attempted to develop an Egyptian alphabet and grammar, his transliterated Egyptian resembled his transliterated Hebrew on the Williams-Cowdery documents. Note in Figure 5 the expansive English translation from eight lexemes that Smith produced from one of his own hypothetical signs (viz. 2.1c).

Figure 5.
Attempt to Transliterate Egyptian Glyphs[16]

Alphabet and Grammar

Egyptian:	**Kiah broam=Kiah brah oam=sub zool oan**
English:	Having been a follower of righteous=ne*fs*; desiring to be one who po*fsefs*ed great Knowledge; a great follower of righteous=ne*fs*; a po*fsefs*or of greater knowledge; a father of many nations; a prince of peace; one who keeps the commandments of God; a rightful heir; a high priest, having the right belonging to the fathers, from the be=beginning of time; even from the beginning, or before the foundation of the earth, down to the present time; even the right of the first born, or the first man, who is Adam, or first father, through the fathers, unto me.

16. The transliteration of the sign is taken from Smith's autographic "Egyptian Alphabet," which contains corrections and additions in Oliver Cowdery's handwriting. The translation of the sign is taken from Book of Abraham Ms. 2. The bound "Egyptian Alphabet and Grammar" (EAG) contains interpretations of the "dissected" sign in various parts and degrees.

The second part of the Williams-Cowdery documents tends to support the ideographic, conceptual translation hypothesis. Translating the Book of Mormon "by the gift and power of God," Smith dictated to his scribe the English text that appeared beneath the "reformed Egyptian" signs. The Williams-Cowdery documents represent an approximation of that process, only now with the English appearing above the signs. Four English words interpret two Book of Mormon characters. There are not enough Book of Mormon characters to indicate the definite articles or genitives which appear in the English translations even though actual Hebrew and late-period Egyptian contained definite articles and certain types of genitives. Smith's translation of Egyptian papyri resembles his translation of Book of Mormon characters in that both sets of figures are interpreted *conceptually*; the impossible result is that one character could represent many clausal ideas comprised of nouns, verbs, adjectives, adverbs, and other parts of speech. Such a combination of meager transliterations that develop into expansive conceptual interpretations is otherwise unknown in the history of philology (see Coe 1992, 18).

This notion of expansive transliteration is made more problematic by the first half of the translation documents where Smith suggests a closer, nearly word-for-word approximation between English and the Book of Mormon. How did Smith produce detailed transliterations for English text which he interpreted conceptually? Ideograms are by definition not phonologically based and thus resist transliteration. What exactly was Smith translating on the gold plates? Ideas? Signs? How are we to imagine a language which in fifty years changed so drastically that its transliteration in the Williams-Cowdery documents no longer reflected in any way its suggested parent languages?

Modern Apologetics

Unfortunately only the English text exists to serve as a control for any linguistic explanation seeking to authenticate the Book of Mormon. Still the spectrum of apologetics is a broad one. At one end are those who propose a completely ideographic, conceptual translation of the Book of Mormon. Because they accommodate evidence about Joseph Smith's actual translation methodology, their position may be described as the most conservative. However, they fail to take into account the first part of the Williams-Cowdery documents, as well as claims about the Book of Mormon being a "literal" translation in which each and every word of the English text appeared in the seer stone, Smith even spelling names because he apparently was unable to pronounce them (see Skousen 1990, 52-53).

At the other end of the spectrum are those who propose a literal,

virtually word-for-word rendering of a proposed original text written in Egyptian (in a few scenarios) or in Hebrew with Egyptian characters. These explanations can be termed liberal because they ignore methodological evidence and concentrate instead on claims of literalness. These writers assume that the English text must reflect a linguistically realistic system. As a result, the text is scoured for "evidence" of their assumption, and anything that appears to match is offered as a witness for the historicity of the Book of Mormon. For their explanatory schemes to work, it must be assumed that the King James Version of the Bible (KJV) was not a source for the English Book of Mormon text.[17] The following discussion begins with examples at the conceptual or conservative end of the spectrum and moves to literalistic or more liberal examples.

THE BOOK OF MORMON AS TRANSLATION OF AN IDEOGRAPHIC SCRIPT

Brigham Young University emeritus anthropologist John L. Sorenson (1980) rejects the possibility that the phrase "the language of the Egyptians" means that Egyptian was the underlying *language* of which the English text of the Book of Mormon is a translation. Rather he claims that the "Egyptian system of characters ... could be used to represent *any* tongue, including Hebrew or any other." We know this, he tells us, "from secular sources." Elsewhere he explains that such a writing system "communicated mainly ideas as such, not sounds; hence it was not tied to one tongue." In other words the Egyptian hieroglyphic writing system would have been pictographic. Referring to the fact that cuneiform characters were used by several unrelated ancient languages, he proposes that "precisely the same process of representing concepts by characters without regard to tongue could have been true of Egyptian hieroglyphics. In fact, a number of examples have been found in Palestine demonstrating that Egyptian characters were used in Old Testament times to write the Hebrew language" (1985, 78). Sorenson concludes that this writing system "made ambiguity inevitable; since the number of characters could never match the number of words or concepts to be represented, any one character could mean several things. For example, the Egyptian sign that resembled a lotus flower was code for both the lotus plant and for 'thousand.'" This is why the Book of Mormon's "reformed Egyptian" was so imperfect (77).

By adopting a pictographic understanding of Egyptian hieroglyphics, Sorenson subscribes to the inaccurate pre-Champollion theory of

17. For an example of how far at least one apologetic argument has gone to avoid Smith's dependence on the KJV, see Ashment 1990b, 247-48.

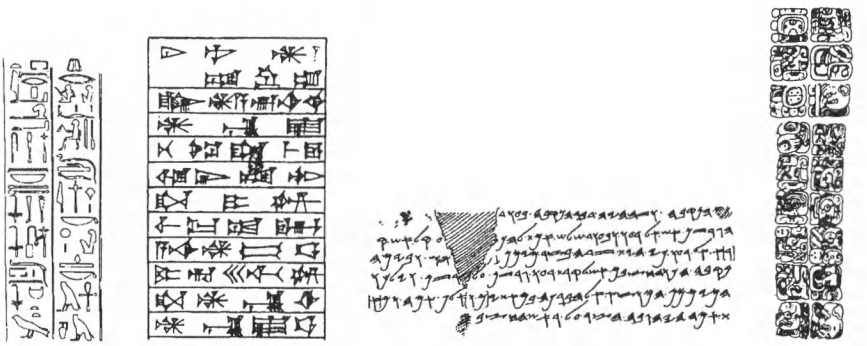
how to interpret Egyptian hieroglyphs (summarized here by Voegelin and Voegelin): "hieroglyphics were 'similitudinous figures' each of which might represent a whole paragraph of meaning—utterance spans as long as a word, or longer than a word, or longer even than a sentence. This is quite an adequate identification of pictographic writing *qua* pictographic type" (1961, 74-75; see Coe 1992, 16-21). As Sorenson elaborates his notions about Book of Mormon language, he equates this pictographic notion of hieroglyphics with what he calls "alphabet-included logographic" Egyptian, in which the "prime content was communicated by logograms each of which carried a concept, sometimes a complete morpheme; phonemic representations were there but only to supplement the 'ideographic' scheme." What is crucial to Sorenson's "alphabet-included logographic" system is that the writing system is largely independent of the spoken language. As he explains it, Moroni's "reformed Egyptian" possessed the same "high utility as a logographic system independent of any one tongue" (3, 4).

A system available to both Nephites and Lamanites, Sorenson sees this "alphabet-included logographic" Egyptian as one of three writing systems in the Book of Mormon. Nephites were also exposed to alphabetic Hebrew, "unquestionably part of the stream of writing tradition coming out of the discovery of the alphabetic principle among speakers of western Semitic in Syria/Palestine in the second millennium B.C." Sorenson concludes that the Jaredite writing system differed from Nephite alternatives based on "Moroni's comments in Ether 12 about the power of Jaredite writing in contrast to that of the Nephites" (3). According to Sorenson, the Jaredite system "would have been syllabic in type," reflecting Jaredite origins in Mesopotamia. But with the "Hebrew alphabetic type at their disposal," Sorenson reasons that the Nephites would have had little interest in using the more cumbersome syllabic script of the Jaredites, despite the fact that the Jaredite system "would indeed have allowed more flexible and powerful written communication" than the "hieroglyphic (logographic) system" (3).

Sorenson attempts to fit his three-part linguistic model into a convincing "geographical and cultural interpretation" template. Lamanites of the second century B.C.E. would have lived in "highland Guatemala and the Nephites in adjacent Chiapas, Mexico." Traces of what the Book of Mormon refers to as "the language of the Nephites" would thus be found in this area. He explains that the only known writing system was "apparently ancestral to 'Mayan' hieroglyphic writing better known from later centuries. Of course that system is also 'alphabet-included logographic' in type, thus in a broad sense could qualify as 'reformed Egyptian,' depending upon its ancestry." He rejects any etymological relationship between that system and the Oaxa-

can system of the ninth to eighth century B.C.E., because, begging the question, he places the Jaredites "prior to 600 B.C." in Oaxaca. Validating his conjectures about the Jaredites' syllabic-based language originating in Mesopotamia, he finds that the "Oaxacan characters ... were syllabic while the [Mayan hieroglyphics] were—as we know with some confidence—logographic" (4).

Figure 6.
Examples of (a) Egyptian Hieroglyphics, (b) Old Babylonian Cuneiform, (c) Hebrew, and (d) Mayan Hieroglyphics



Sorenson accounts for the brass plates by concluding again that "the language of our fathers" (1 Ne. 3:19) refers to a *writing system*: "It is clear that the plates were enveloped in tradition, represented a continuous, additive record, and were written in the same character system which had been used for a long time. Based on the Joseph/Egyptian/Elohistic characteristics which I adduced,[18] I conclude that the record was kept currently in an Egyptian writing system probably from the time of Joseph, through Zenos' and Zenock's day (Divided Monarchy), and right on down to Lehi's and Laban's time." Therefore, the writing on the brass plates could not be demotic Egyptian, which "developed much too late to qualify as the system of char-

18. Sorenson (1977) claims to have established a northern Israel origin for Lehi. His conclusion rests on the "appearance of 'Lord' over 'Jehovah' (over 1400 times verses [sic] 2 times, respectively)." This fact indicates an "Elohistic" or northern origin for the Book of Mormon. But it is well known that "Lord" is a *translation* of "Jehovah," which even he admits (1977, 39n39). Elohim would have been translated as "God." With such an explanation as a foundation, Sorenson claims that "four prophets unmentioned in the Bible—Zenock, Zenos, Neum, and Ezias," who are mentioned in the Book of Mormon—are therefore "Northern Kingdom Prophets."

acters used continuously on the brass plates, in Lehi and Nephi's day, and on as 'the language of the fathers' down to Mosiah's age." Rather the language on the brass plates must have "belonged to the general family of writings derived from hieroglyphic, however much modified." Over time, changes and scribal haste may have produced a writing system overtly pictographic which more closely resembled demotic Egyptian. But these changes were superficial. The underlying system remained pictographic or conceptual (5).

Unfortunately for Sorenson's proposal, the Egyptian hieroglyphic writing system was not known to "represent concepts by characters without regard to tongue." In fact it was integrally tied to the Egyptian language.[19] It is true that Egyptian is "an Alphabet Included Logographic System" but Sorenson's equation of such a system with a pictographic system, one which could be disconnected from its spoken equivalent, is not supported by the evidence: "the alphabet included part is intricately interwoven and not clearly separable from the logographic part in all examples of Alphabet Included Logographic Systems. Two classes of signs—for sounds and for morphemes—are integrated ..." (Voegelin and Voegelin 1961, 64-69, 74-75). Thus Sorenson misrepresents the Voegelins when he cites them as his "secular sources" confirming the pictographic nature of Egyptian under the rubric of "alphabet-included logographic" (1980, 1).

Sorenson similarly misrepresents the nature of the Mayan hieroglyphic writing system to connect it with his notion of "reformed Egyptian" and fit it into his required geographical and cultural scheme. In fact Mayan hieroglyphics were integrally related to the Mayan dialects they represented, Cholan and Yucatec (Schele 1982, 8ff; Schele and Freidel 1990, 50-51; Coe 1992, 49-54). Moreover ancient Mayan hieroglyphics were logosyllabic (similar to cuneiform) rather than conceptual. Further they may have descended from Oaxacan (Morely and Brainerd 1983, 532, 536; Schele and Miller 1986, 325; Schele and Freidel 1990, 52). Thus Mayan would be the more likely candidate for Sorenson's Mesopotamian "Jaredite system" than for his "reformed Egyptian" Nephite system.

The larger fact remains that none of the pre-European era American languages or writing systems is related to or derived from ancient Egyptian, Sumerian/Akkadian, or Hebrew languages or writing systems (see Fig. 6). Sorenson is also left with the formidable linguistic problem of explaining how Joseph Smith could make a "literal transla-

19. A bibliography would be useful for the plethora of documents Sorenson claims "have been found in Palestine demonstrating that Egyptian characters were used in Old Testament times to write the Hebrew Language."

tion" of a conceptual, ideographic script that would not be bound to any language. In this context looking for "Egyptianisms" and "Hebraisms" in the Book of Mormon would be irrelevant.

Brigham Young University law professor John W. Welch implicitly concedes this point when he, agreeing with Sorenson, rejects the Book of Mormon as "a grammatically literal translation, a verbatim word-for-word, form-for-form rendition" and takes this maximally-conservative position: "Joseph's English translation, while being more expressive than a mechanically literal rendition, still corresponded in some way, point-by-point, with the ancient writing that was being translated ... [so] that the meaning of something on the plates gave rise to each element of meaning in the translation, although one cannot know in all cases how close that relationship or connection was" (1990, 140-41). Welch points to David Whitmer's observation that "Frequently one character would make two lines of manuscript, while others made but a word or two words." Welch then proposes: "If this is an accurate statement, it confirms that the translation was rather strict, character for character, although sometimes several English words were required to express the meaning of a single inscription. So, for example, two simple characters might be translated into English as 'the interpretation of languages' and two others as 'the Book of Mormon,' as Frederick G. Williams once wrote in Kirtland" (141).

Welch's proposed translation methodology for the Book of Mormon therefore would be the same that Smith used to produce the 1835 Book of Abraham manuscript. It is because one sign can equal many words—thus making it ideographic—that Welch can argue that the KJV of the Bible did not play a significant role in Smith's production of the Book of Mormon. "It is a relatively small step" within this context, concludes Welch, to believe that "God projected a text similar to the biblical text through Joseph Smith, or the power of God brought that text especially to his memory as those words were appropriate and helpful" (136). Welch's comments only underscore how pointless it is to argue that Smith's translation reflects Egyptian or Hebrew syntax when there is no syntax in the ideograph to reflect.

THE BOOK OF MORMON AS A TRANSLATION OF AN UNDERLYING LANGUAGE: EGYPTIAN

Still many apologists, who may be termed liberal because they ignore nineteenth-century evidence about Smith's translation process, have concentrated on the very task that Welch's and Sorenson's arguments render beside the point. Hugh W. Nibley's project is perhaps the most moderate of the liberal approaches. He seeks to impose a modern translation methodology of an ancient underlying language onto Smith's production of the Book of Mormon in order to authenticate its

historicity. He takes at face value the Book of Mormon's declaration that it was written according to "the learning of the Jews" and "in the language of the Egyptians."[20] Accordingly Nibley claims to perceive a few Egyptian phraseologies and grammatical peculiarities as parallels to the Book of Mormon (1967, 169ff.). But he concentrates on thematic and phraseological parallels with Jewish and early Christian apocryphal literature (171-91) and on proper names in the Book of Mormon, for which he finds Egyptian and Semitic parallels (192-96; 1964, 230-42). This is how he makes his case for the historical authenticity of the Book of Mormon. This essay focuses on his evidence based on proper names.[21]

Of a project such as his—discovering inter-language homonyms—Nibley observes, "there is no happier hunting-ground for the half-trained scholar than the world of words ... in which the ear decides for itself whether or not a resemblance in sound is to be taken as accidental or significant." As a result, he states that he limits himself "to a few minimum claims which it would be very hard for anyone to dispute" (1964, 230-31). He thus magnifies the importance of his arguments.

Nibley proposes that Nephites "are quite aware" of historical events in ancient Egypt. When involved in the "same institutions" and the "same intrigues" as ancient Egyptian historical figures, they even take the same names (1964, 231). He singles out Korihor and Paanchi as examples (see also Nibley 1967, 192). His proposition has several problems.

First, he indicates that Nephites must have had a detailed knowledge of Egyptian history up to at least 400 years before Lehi left Jerusalem and somehow passed that knowledge on from generation to generation as part of their own history for at least another 530 years

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20. Nibley addresses the problem of whether the gold plates were written in the Egyptian language or in Hebrew using Egyptian characters as follows: "To preserve mere *characters* but a single page of Hebrew and Egyptian signs would have been necessary, and Lehi or his sons could have produced such from memory, since they had already been taught them. And if the language in question were Hebrew, Lehi's children could have produced from their own resources any number of books in their own language, so that when Nephi expresses his belief that without that one volume of plates a language will be lost—the ancient language of his fathers—he cannot possibly be speaking of Hebrew. The preservation of Hebrew would naturally require possession of the scriptures, the canon of the pure language, but these could be had anywhere in Judah and would not require the dangerous mission to Laban. The language of Lehi's forefathers was a foreign language; and when Nephi tells us it was the language of the Egyptians he means what he says" (1952, 26).

21. For a discussion of Nibley's effort to find parallels in a variety of literatures, see Ashment 1990a, 229-31.

until about 70 B.C.E. (1964, 232-33). But the only record they took with them from Palestine was the brass-plate Hebrew Bible. This record was no doubt similar to its Old World counterpart, which did not mention Egyptian events. At any rate, which happened: Did Paanchi's parents, having a prescience that their son would challenge Pahoran and Pacumeni for the chief judgeship, name him Paanchi in accordance with the long-previous event in Egypt that they had learned about from history? Or did Helaman (or even Mormon?), knowing that millennium-old history, give him the name Paanchi in order to evoke the original, millennium-old event in the mind of readers?

Second, Nibley declares that the "Egyptian Paanchi [*p'-'nK*] ... was the son of one Kherihor [*Hry-Hr*; Nibley here misrepresents *H* as *K*]... the High Priest of Ammon, who in a priestly plot set himself up as a rival of Pharoah himself, while his son Paanchi actually claimed the throne" (232). This, according to Nibley, "inaugurated the rule of priestcraft in Egypt" (233; see also Nibley 1952, 24-25). If that were so, the Nephites would have remembered ancient Egyptian history inaccurately. Contrary to Nibley's description, the ancient Egyptian Pa-ankh (Nibley's Paanchi) was not a son of Herihor (Nibley's Kherihor) (Wente 1979, x-xii; Kitchen 1986, 438). On the contrary, Herihor may have been Pa-ankh's son-in-law (Jansen-Winkeln 1992, 24-25). Moreover evidence indicates that Herihor was appointed High Priest of Amon by the king, Ramses XI (see Kitchen 1986, 250-51; Redford 1977, 1129ff). He did not inaugurate the rule of priestcraft in Egypt. Finally, the Book of Mormon Korihor was merely an ancient secular humanist—not a pretender to the Nephite throne.[22]

The original manuscript of the Book of Mormon indicates that the name Nibley identifies as Egyptianesque, Pahoran, Paanchi's father, is incorrect. It should have been Parhoron (Skousen 1992, 20). In any event Nibley's parallel for Pahoran with ancient Egyptian is tenuous. He asserts that "*Pahoran* reflects the Pales[tinian] *Pahura*, (for Eg[yptian] Pa-her-an, cf. Pa-her-y, 'the Syrian') which is 'reformed' Egyptian, i.e., a true Egyptian title, but altered in such a way as to adapt it to the Canaanite speech" (1952, 24).

In fact *paHura* (Pakhura) is merely the Babylonian pronunciation of the Egyptian *p'-Kry* (Pakhery; Ranke 1935, 116-17). How that represents "reformed Egyptian" is open to question. (Would the English word "French" in this context be considered "reformed French" for *français*?) There is no Egyptian "Pa-her-an" equivalent, and neither Pakhura nor Pakhery sounds like Pahoran. Nibley misrepresents the *K* (in *p'-Kry*) as "h" (which should be transliterated as "Kh"), thus ena-

22. For use of the Korihor label by modern apologists, see Peterson 1992.

bling him to create his parallel for Pahoran.

Elsewhere Nibley's ear "decides for itself" that the Egyptian *H* in *Hy-shri* represents a soft "c" to become parallel to Cezoram (1952, 25), the same *H* he already misrepresented as "Kh" in his transliteration of the Egyptian *Hry-Hr*.

In another instance Nibley proposes that Mormon is a transliteration of the Egyptian *Mry-Imn* (1964, 235-36; see also 1952, 25). He appeals to evidence from a fifth-century B.C.E. Jewish mercenary military garrison at Elephantine, which he wrongly characterizes as a colony of exiles fleeing Babylonian persecution (1952, 31-32; 1964, 233-34; see Albright 1968, 162; Smith 1984, 219). However, he fails to explain how *Mry-Imn* and similar theophoric names that represent Egyptian pagan gods were so popular among the pre-Christian Christian Nephites (see 1952, 27-31; 1964, 235-36), who lived an even higher law (2 Ne. 25:24-27) than their religious counterparts in Judah (among whom Egyptian theophoric personal names were far from customary). The Jews at Elephantine on the other hand were heterodox, having "intermarried with Egyptians and worshipped a number of deities besides Yahweh" (Smith 1984, 219), with the result that pagan theophoric names would be expected among them.

Nibley finds authentication for "deseret" as "honey bee" (Ether 2:3) in the red crown of Lower Egypt (1953, 184-89). He sees the Egyptian name of the red crown, *dshrt*, to be cognate with the Book of Mormon "deseret," because occasionally Egyptians used the red crown as a substitute word for the king of Lower Egypt, *bity*, "He of the bee." But "deseret" is not cognate with *dshrt*. The Egyptian word for both "bee" and "honey" was *bit*, and the name for the red crown comes from the Egyptian word for red, *dshr*, and has nothing to do with honey or bees. Undaunted Nibley speculates that *dshrt* was so sacred a word that Egyptians never used it in connection with bees, just as Jews never pronounced the tetragrammaton. Indeed he is "personally persuaded that the archaic and ritual designation of the bee was *deseret*, a 'word of power' too sacred to be entrusted to the vulgar, being one of the keys to 'the king's secret.'" That is why there would be no evidence for Nibley's speculation. His proof that the red crown "is the 'bee-crown' is ... the long antenna that protrudes from the base of it." However, the red crown more likely represented part of the eye of Horus, as seen in Figure 7 (Riemschneider in Westendorf 1989, 43, 47).[23]

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23. For how ludicrous "name studies" may become, note a recent question and answer from Walter Scott's "Personality Parade" in *Parade*, 23 Aug. 1992, 2:

Q. A while back, you said Tonto was calling the Lone Ranger "faithful friend" when he used the phrase "kemo sabay." Actually Tonto was calling him "he who doesn't understand" (from the Spanish "quien no sabe"). But he was just returning the

Figure 7.
The Red and White Crowns of Egypt as the Eye of Horus, According to Riemschneider

Clearly Nibley's "minimum claims" that "would be very hard for anyone to dispute" have little foundation. Surely his own caution about the "unbridled license of speculation and airy weakness of evidence ... of the homemade philologist" is well founded. His attempts demonstrate that efforts to parallel Book of Mormon names with ancient Near Eastern names should be approached with skepticism.[24]

In fact Book of Mormon names can be accounted for in a much sim-

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insult: "Tonto" is Spanish for "fool." I figured it was an inside joke. Why not ask Clayton Moore, who played the Lone Ranger?

A. It was Moore, in fact, who said "kemo sabay" is Iroquois for "faithful friend"—which the Iroquois Indian Museum is having trouble checking, since each of the six Iroquois nations has its own language. But the late James Jewell, first director of "The Lone Ranger," said he named Tonto (which Indians told him meant "wild one") and took Tonto's phrase from Kee Mo Sah Bee, a camp in Michigan. You decide. Meanwhile where did Tonto learn Spanish?

24. Stephen D. Ricks (1992b), a professor of Asian and Near Eastern Languages at Brigham Young University, attempts to account for Greek names in the Book of Mormon by suggesting several possible origins. He limits his treatment to "Timothy" and "Lachoneus," omitting discussion of the theologically most important Greek name in the Book of Mormon: "Christ" is the Greek translation of the Hebrew "Messiah," both of which mean "Anointed" (see BDB 603; Liddell and Scott, 9th ed., 2007; Kittel and Friedrich 1964-76, 9:496ff).

The term "Christ" first occurs in the Book of Mormon in 1 Nephi 12:18 (in the 1830 edition), several years before an angel revealed for the first time (in 2 Nephi 10:3) that the "name" of the Messiah would be "Christ." Apparently because of this serious internal anachronism, the term "Christ" was edited out of 1 Nephi 12:18 and changed to "Messiah" in the 1837 edition.

That "Christ" occurs at all in the Book of Mormon is remarkable, for it is merely a translation into Greek—a language with which the Nephites would *not* have been familiar—of a Hebrew word that the Nephites would already have understood. As Christianity spread in the western world to people who did not know what it meant "Christ" came to have status as a name in its own right (see Kittel and Friedrich 1964-76, 9:573-80). By the time of Joseph Smith, "Christ" was a name; Smith did not understand that to Nephites "Christ" would have been a meaningless replacement in a totally foreign language. It is in this context that "Christ" appears in the Book of Mormon. (Also see Metcalfe, in this compilation.)

pler way. If those names which parallel or are derived from biblical names are set aside, Book of Mormon names are built out of relatively few stems, some used extensively, to which one or more affixes from eight classes have been added to create a new name. The process has been aptly labeled "affixation," defined as "the creation of new words by the addition of suffixes, prefixes, or infixes" (Forsberg 1990, 72). The Book of Mormon may be the only known source of a stem, or it may be a variation of a biblical name. The table below shows 70 possible stems with various affixes. These combinations generate 136 Book of Mormon names for which it is difficult to justify an ancient origin.

Table 1.
Book of Mormon Names Divided into Stems and Affixes

Prefix	Stem	([e]/[i])an	(h/n/t)([a]/[e]/[o])r	(C)([a]/[e]/[i]/[o]/[u])([m]/[n])	(C)i	((C)a)h(V)	g([a]/[o])th	Anomalous
	Abinad Abinad			 om	i			
	Aha					h		
	Am Amm Amm Am Am Am		ar ar or nor or	on on on on	 ni 	 hu 		
	Anti Anti Anti Anti Anti-par Anti			om on on on-um 	 	 ah ah 		no pus
	Ant			um				
	Arch	ean						
	Co		hor					
	Com		nor					
	Cor Cor Cor Cor Cor-i Kor-i Cor	ian ian ian ian	 tor hor hor 	ton tum tum om				 r

Prefix	Stem	({e i}) an	(h n t)({a e o})r	(C){a e i o u}{m n}	(C)i	((C)a)h(V)	g{a o}th	Anomalous
Pa Kish	Cumen Cumen cumen Kumen kumen			on	i i i hi	hah		
	Cum Cum		or	om		ah		
	Cure			lom				
	Em Em		er	ron				
Ze	Ez ez			rom rom				
	Eth			em				
	Gad Gad Gad-iom	ian ian		ton	di	nah		
	Gazel			em				
Gidd Gidd	Gidd gidd gidd Gidd	ian		on on on	i hi	ah ah		
	Gil Gil					gah		no
Gim	gim							no
	Ha						goth	
	Hel Hel		or	am-an um				
	Him		nor					
	Irr	ean		tum				
	Jacob-u						gath	
	Jac			om				
	Jar			om				
	Jash			om				
	Jene			um				
	Kim		nor					
A	kish							

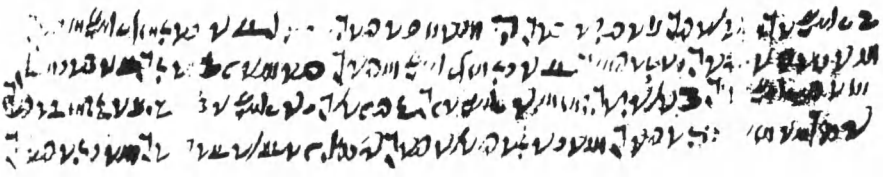
Prefix	Stem	({e i}) an	(h n t)({a e o})r	(C){a e i o u}{m n}	(C)i	((C)a)h(V)	g{a o}th	Anoma-lous
Ripla	kish							
	Lam					ah		
	Lam			an				
	Lam			on	i			
	Leh			on	ti			
	Lim					hah		
	Lim		her					
	Lim					hi		
	Lim					hah		
	Lur			um				
	Mah			on	ri			
	Man							ti
	Math			on	i			
	Math			on	i	hah		
A	malek							
A	malick				i	hah		
A	mulek							
	Mulok				i			
	Midd			on	i			
	Mig			on				
	Min			ron				
	Mo			cum				
	Mor	ian		cum				er
	Mor	ian		ton				
	Mor	ian		tum				
	Mor			mon				
	Mor			on				
	Mor			on	i			
	Mor			on	i	hah		
	Mos				i	ah		
	Na			hom				
	Ne							as
	Ne		hor					
	Ne				phi			
	Ne				phi	hah		
	Ne			um				
Ze	ne				phi			
	O						gath	

Prefix	Stem	({e i}) an	(h n t)({a e o})r	(C){a e i o u}{m n}	(C)i	((C)a)h(V)	g{a o}th	Anomalous
	Om Om		ner		ni			
	On On On			i i ti	Dah hah			
	Or				i	hah		
	Paanch				i			
	Pach							us
	Pa Pa		hor					gag an
	Rabba					nah		
	Rip Rip-li	an		cum		lah		
	Sean			tum				
	Seb							us
	Se			num				
	She She			lem rem				
	Shem Shem			lon ron				
	Shib Shib Shib			lom lon ron				
	Shi			lom				
	Shim-ni			lon				
	Si Si			dom ron				
	Tean			cum				
	Teom		ner					
	Zara Zara			hem hem		nah		la
	Zem		nar		i	hah		
See	Ze Ze Ze zo			rom rin ram ram				

THE BOOK OF MORMON AS HEBREW WRITTEN IN EGYPTIAN CHARACTERS

Despite Sorenson's assertion of the existence of a number of ancient Palestinian Hebrew documents written in Egyptian characters, defenders of the Book of Mormon's claims have been unable to produce an authentic parallel. Stephen D. Ricks (1992a) uses an Egyptian papyrus from the Ptolemaic period to suggest that the language of the Book of Mormon was not Egyptian *per se* but rather Hebrew in Egyptian characters.[25] Papyrus Amherst 63, perhaps "the longest ancient copy of an Aramaic text ever found," is comprised of "cultic texts, mainly prayers, with a story at the end." Its script is "a peculiar variety of demotic, many signs having a form met with rarely, if at all" elsewhere (Nims and Steiner 1983, 262; see Fig. 8).

Figure 8.
Column 11, Lines 11-14 of Papyrus Amherst 63



25. Ricks thus disagrees with Nibley, who argues: "Did the wealthy Lehi learn Egyptian characters so that he could sit in his house in the land of Jerusalem and by writing Hebrew with demotic symbols save a few cents a month on writing materials?" Rather, Lehi and his sons "had no other reason for learning Egyptian characters than to read and write Egyptian. ... And the Egyptian characters can only have been preserved for their use because the language was also preserved; for people who were *not* crowded for space would not have continued to write Hebrew in the difficult Egyptian characters for hundreds of years, when all the time they might just as well have been writing in the twenty-two simple and practical characters of the Hebrew alphabet.

"Many reasons might be added for rejecting this interesting theory, but the simple statement of Mormon [sic] should be enough to banish the darling illusion that anyone who has had elementary Hebrew knows the original language of the Book of Mormon. If that were so, its translation by the gift and power of God would have been no great miracle, and instead of a Urim and Thummin [sic] a short list of Egyptian characters with their Hebrew equivalents would have been the only tool necessary to Joseph Smith's generation or our own. The fact remains that the abridging and editing of the Book of Mormon was in a language known to no other people on earth but the Nephites" (1952, 16-17).

Ricks uses Papyrus Amherst 63 to generalize that "using one script to convey another language was not unknown in the Middle East in ancient times." He points out that the document contains "a version of Psa 20:2-6 ... just like the original script of the Book of Mormon may be an Egyptian script used to convey scripture in a semitic language (Hebrew)." Concluding that Book of Mormon Nephites "certainly ... were still familiar with Hebrew," Ricks speculates that the reason they wrote in Egyptian characters was because Egyptian scripts "may take up less space than the Hebrew characters required to express the same thought." Accordingly, he finds "striking parallels between the two documents. The demotic Egyptian-Aramaic Papyrus Amherst 63 is more compact than would have been the case if the Aramaic script had been used, just as the Book of Mormon plates could be more compact using Egyptian characters rather than Hebrew." Ricks finds another parallel in Moroni's complaint that writing in Egyptian characters "led to imperfections that would not have existed if he and others could have written in Hebrew." Similarly the Aramaic papyrus in demotic script "is much more difficult to read and has much more ambiguity than if it had been written in Aramaic script."

As with Sorenson's assertions about Egyptian hieroglyphics and Nibley's assertions about name studies, Ricks's assertions misrepresent the actual evidence in order to make it appear parallel to the Book of Mormon. First, Ricks downplays the fact that the papyrus is a paganized adaptation of Psalm 20:2-6 (see Fig. 9) by calling it "a version." The decipherers of the document, Nims and Steiner, suggest that the Jews who wrote it had become "polytheistic or syncretistic in their beliefs," just as the Jews at Patros and Elephantine, or that it was written by "Aramean pagans who wished to adapt the prayer for use in the cult of Horus" (1983, 272).[26] At any rate the document does not show the efforts of pious, religious Jews carefully recording part of their scripture in Egyptian characters, as the Book of Mormon does.

Figure 9.
Psalm 20:2 in English, with a Translation of the Aramaic Paganized Adaptation (Nims and Steiner 1983, 264)

May the Lord answer you in time of trouble.	(11) May Horus answer us in our troubles.

26. In fact Steiner suggests that the writers of the text originally were from Rash, whose inhabitants were deported to Bethel in Samaria by Ashurbanipal, and that "the Rashans either lived among or were themselves soldiers from Judea and Samaria. Either way, a link with Elephantine seems unavoidable" (1991, 363).

May the name of the
God of Jacob keep you
out of harm's reach

(12) May Adony answer us
in our troubles
O Bow in Heaven, (13) Sahar.
Send your emissary from the
temple of Arash, and from
Zephon (14) may Horus
sustain us.

Ricks is wrong in his assertion that Papyrus Amherst 63 "is more compact than would have been the case if the Aramaic script had been used." The papyrus attempts to use demotic alphabetic and non-alphabetic signs phonetically to represent Aramaic (Nims and Steiner 1983, 262; 1984, 90; 1985, 65). Some of the non-alphabetic signs are in fact much longer than their Aramaic equivalents. For example, to represent the Aramaic phoneme (*r*), the scribe used a demotic group—eight strokes vs. one (1983, 262). And the papyrus adds Egyptian determinatives to many words, thus increasing their length (Nims and Steiner 1983, 263; 1984, 91; 1985, 66). Finally the demotic sign (') is scattered throughout the text so often as to be "almost meaningless" (Nims and Steiner 1983, 263; 1984, 91; 1985, 67). Contrary to Ricks, the text in Egyptian characters is quite a bit longer than its Aramaic equivalent would have been (Fig. 10).

Figure 10.
A Transliteration of the Demotic Characters and Their Aramaic Equivalent

(11) y''n'n'(m) 'Hr(g) b'm'tswryn'(m)	*y'nn Hr bmc(w)ryn*
(12) y'''n'n'(m) e't'ny(m) b'mtswryn(m)	*y'nn 'bny bmc(w)ryn*
h'y'ksh't(m) b'sh'myn(g) (13) s'hr'(m)	*hy-qsht bshmyn shr*
sh'r'H'(m) tsy'r'k(m) mnnk'r(m) e'r'sh'(w)	*shlH cyrk mn-'gr 'rsh*
w'mntsp'n'(m) (14)'Hr(g) y's''t'n'(m)	*wmn-cpn Hr ys'dn*

In addition to requiring more space than Aramaic, Nims and Steiner note that "this script fails to express many of the contrasts expressed by the traditional Aramaic script" with the result that "the renderings are highly ambiguous, some forms having dozens of possible interpretations" (262). They conclude hypothetically that "it was written for a priest whose Aramaic was so poor that he was able neither to memorize the liturgy nor to read it in Aramaic script. Like many American Jews today, he needed a phonetic transliteration into a familiar script. It was never meant to be intelligible. It was meant to enable an Egyptianized Aramean to continue the tradition of reciting prayers in Aramaic despite his ignorance of that language" (272).

As a result there is no trade off of "ambiguity" for compactness as

Ricks claims. The text is not only "partially unintelligible" (Nims and Steiner 1983, 272) but also takes up *more* space and is *more* cumbersome. Consequently this papyrus is hardly a good candidate for authenticating the language claims of the Book of Mormon. It in no way resembles the evidence of Smith's translation efforts. But because of a dearth of evidence, it must do.

THE BOOK OF MORMON REFLECTS AN UNDERLYING LANGUAGE: "HEBRAISMS"

Perhaps the most liberal apologetic explanations for the authenticity of the Book of Mormon are those that require a wooden translation into English from Hebrew, leaving Egyptian out of the picture altogether. Advocates of this approach look for expressions in English that resemble authentic Hebrew expressions and use them to posit a hypothetically original Hebrew on the gold plates, which Smith must have translated literally. Several have followed the lead of Sidney Sperry in this regard (1935 and 1954). They appeal to a rather standard litany of "Hebraisms."

In a brief article E. Craig Bramwell (1961) presents two of his most salient arguments from his BYU master's thesis of a year earlier, "Hebrew Idioms in the Small Plates of Nephi." He first attempts to account for the similarity between KJV and Book of Mormon compound subjects. According to Bramwell, the rule is that the speaker is listed first in Hebrew syntax. For instance, "My father and I" becomes "I and my father."[27] His Book of Mormon examples include:

> I, Nephi, and my brethren took our journey in the wilderness (1 Ne. 3:9);
> I and my brethren did consult one with another (1 Ne. 3:10);
> I and my father had kept the commandments wherewith the Lord had commanded us (1 Ne. 5:20);
> the Lord commanded him that I, Nephi, and my brethren, should again return unto the land of Jerusalem (1 Ne. 7:2);
> I, Nephi, did again, with my brethren, go forth into the wilderness (1 Ne. 7:3);
> after I and my brethren and all the house of Ishmael had come down unto the tent of my father, they did give thanks unto the Lord their God (1 Ne. 7:22);

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27. He cites Davidson 1901, section 114: "When compound subj. is of different persons 1st pers. precedes 2nd and 2nd the 3rd. I K. 1. 21 above, *I and my son.* I S. 14. 40; 20. 23, Nu. 20.8, Gen. 43.8." Following Davidson, Bramwell cites 1 Kgs. 1:21; 1 Sam. 14:40; and Gen. 43:8. See also Gen. 22:5; 31:44; 34:30; 37:10; Ex. 9:27; 33:16; Num. 20:19; Judg. 7:18; 11:37; 12:2; 20:4; 2 Sam. 3:28; 1Kgs. 1:21; 3:17; 2 Kgs. 9:25; 2 Chr. 32:13; Neh. 1:6; 2:12; 5:14; Esth. 7:4; Isa. 8:18 (2 Ne. 18:18).

> ye need not suppose that I and my father are the only ones that have testified (1 Ne. 22:31).[28]

For Bramwell, these occurrences are "a striking indication that this scripture was written by persons versed in Hebrew" and represent evidence of a "rather literal translation of the Book of Mormon as opposed to the philosophy that the concept or meaning was obtained by the Prophet and that he was then left to his own devices and experience for the expression of it."[29] He does not discuss the implications of Doctrine and Covenants (D&C) 132:11, in which the construction also occurs, viz.: Is the Lord's English therefore governed by Hebrew syntactic rules? Nor does he deal with the possibility that these few Book of Mormon occurrences are the result of Smith's efforts at archaizing.

But Bramwell's second grammatical peculiarity which "bears the earmarks of Hebrew" is comprised of several "rules" regarding the use of the conjunction in Hebrew. He remarks that "Hebrew sentence structure is relatively simple, somewhat like the speech of children." He accounts simplistically for the extensive use of the conjunction: "Hebrews are such an *and* loving people they exhibit a dislike even to begin a sentence without its use; even books are commenced with it" (497). More specifically he notes that "and" is "to join sentences in Hebrew" (497, 517). Thus he accounts for the Book of Mormon's "*And* it came to pass" and other sentence-initial *ands*, phrases which mime the KJV's literal rendering from the Hebrew. In fact *waw* served Hebrew semantics in many complex and subtle ways, including indicating suc-

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28. The construction occurs also in Mosiah 9:7, 16, 17; 11:27; and Alma 27:15.

29. In his thesis on possible Hebraisms in the large plate section of the Book of Mormon, Deloy Pack cites the studies of Rasmussen and Smutz, both of whom studied "textual parallels between the Doctrine and Covenants and the King James Version of the Bible." They found "a great deal of influence of the latter on the wording of the former. Smutz found that over half the verses she studied contained at least two phrases which paralleled the King James Version either in vocabulary, syntax, meanings or concept." That demonstrates to Pack that "when Joseph Smith was in that particular mental state associated with receiving revelations, he had an unusual ability to recall biblical material. If he was in a similar condition while dictating the Book of Mormon, he could have recalled biblical terminology well enough to have incorporated Hebraisms as contained in the King James Version into the text of the Book of Mormon. The parallels between Book of Mormon verses and biblical passages ... show that Joseph Smith did have some facility for recalling biblical material while dictating the Book of Mormon."

Pack is less liberal than Bramwell, concluding that the "possibility cannot be excluded, then, that Hebraisms occur in the Book of Mormon because Joseph Smith when under inspiration had an exceptional ability to recall biblical phrases and terms." Though he favors the idea that a literal translation is responsible for Hebraisms that he sees in the English text of the Book of Mormon, Pack notes that his data "are not sufficient for one to draw a final conclusion between these two possibilities" (1973, 177-79).

cession, epexegesis, pluperfect, or a consequential situation after a circumstantial clause or phrase (Waltke and O'Connor 1990, 519-63). The translators of the KJV were apparently unaware of some of *waw*'s more subtle meanings. As in the KJV, so in the Book of Mormon.

Bramwell then notes that "it is also common for *and* to stand before each word in a series." If "several nouns are coupled by its use, the possessive pronoun, if used, *must* be repeated with each noun" (emphasis added).[30] He cites 1 Nephi 2:4: "And he left *his* house, and the land of *his* inheritance, and *his* gold, and *his* silver, and *his* precious things." He omits the next clause, which breaks his "must" rule: "and took nothing with him save it were his family, and provisions, and tents."

Bramwell adds parenthetically that "similarly the preposition is repeated before each word when several words are united under the power of the preposition."[31] He cites 1 Nephi 16:23 as an example: "wherefore I did arm myself *with* a bow and an arrow, *with* a sling and *with* stones" (517). According to his rule of the redundantly-repeated preposition, 1 Nephi 16:15 is an obvious exception: "with our bows and our arrows and our stones and our slings" should read "with our bows and *with* our arrows and *with* our stones and *with* our slings."[32] But Bramwell's examples are enough for him to conclude that "the mass of such items gives evidence that the Book of Mormon is what it claims to be—an authentic product of the Near East" (517).

John A. Tvedtnes similarly defends the Book of Mormon on the basis of assuming an underlying Hebrew structure. Unlike Nibley, Tvedtnes dismisses Egyptian: "Whatever reformed Egyptian was, it must have been influenced by the language that the Nephites used in daily speech—Hebrew" (1991, 77-78). To confirm this assumption, Tvedtnes (1991) develops thirteen grammatical and syntactic categories of English words and phrases from the Book of Mormon, which he claims reflect an underlying Hebrew original:

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30. He cites Davidson, who states, "If several nouns be coupled by and, suff. must be repeated with each" (1901, section 2).

31. He apparently refers to Davidson 1901, section 101 (whom he does not cite): "When several words are coupled together under the regimen of the same prep. it is often repeated before each, as Hos. 2.21 ... Gen. 12.1; 40.2, 2S. 6.5, Hos. 1.7." Bramwell would have done well to have followed Davidson in being less prescriptive.

32. In this context Bramwell last cites an example attributed to a prophet named Zenos: "The Lord God surely shall visit all the house of Israel at that day, some with his voice, because of their righteousness, unto their great joy and salvation, and others with the thunderings and the lightnings of his power, by tempest, by fire, and by smoke, and vapor of darkness, and by the opening of the earth, and by mountains which shall be carried up" (1 Ne. 19:11). But Zenos seems to have relied on Isaiah (29:6): "Thou shalt be visited of the Lord of hosts with thunder, and with earthquake, and great noise, with storm and tempest, and the flame of devouring fire."

1. *Construct state.* The adjective is expressed by a genitival phrase in apposition to the noun it describes: "plates of brass" instead of "brass plates" (79).

2. *Adverbials.* The adverb is expressed by a prepositional phrase: "with patience" instead of "patiently" (79-80).

3. *Cognates.* The object noun is a derivative of a transitive verb: "I have *dreamed* a *dream*" (80).[33]

4. *Compound prepositions.* A prepositional phrase is used periphrastically instead of a simple preposition: "*by the hand* of and *by the mouth of*" instead of merely "by" (81).

5. *Conjunctions.* "And" is used redundantly in lists along with "related elements such as prepositions, articles, and possessive pronouns" (as in Bramwell's examples above): "*And* he left *his* house, *and* the land of *his* inheritance, *and his* gold, *and his* silver, *and his* precious things" (82).

6. *Subordinate clauses.* "Prepositions plus a word that translates as *that*" mark a subordinate clause: "*because that* my heart is broken" (86).

7. *Relative clauses.* The relative clause "does not always closely follow the word it refers back to": "Our brother Nephi ... has taken it upon him to be our ruler, and our teacher, *who* are his elder brethren" (87).

8. *Extrapositional nouns and pronouns.* Resumptive pronouns are

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33. Paul Hoskisson also declares that cognate accusatives are diagnostic of Hebrew in order to strengthen the historicity of the Book of Mormon. He claims to have "discerned a Semitic flavor in the Book of Mormon that was foreign to English. For instance, it is not common in English to use cognate accusatives; that is, using objects of the verb that are derived from the same root, such as 'sing a song' or 'live a good life.' English contains a few cognitive accusatives because no acceptable synonyms are available, but on the whole, English usually avoids them. The Book of Mormon uses them quite often. ... This frequent usage is indicative of the book's Near Eastern heritage" (1988, 15). Elsewhere in an attempt to strengthen the position that cognitive accusatives are virtually nonexistent in English, he goes so far as to claim that "We even go to the extreme in English and invent elaborate sentences to avoid a cognate accusative" (1982, 41). Brian Stubbs also wrongly appeals to cognitive accusatives in the Book of Mormon to argue for the historicity of the Book of Mormon: "the cognitive accusative, literarily redundant in English, is used in Hebrew for emphasis" (1992, 1:180).

Unfortunately, cognate accusatives are more common in English than either is willing to allow. Visser (1984, 1:415) observes that although "Cognate objects ... are somewhat rare in Old English, they are made with increasing frequency in Middle English, and become quite numerous in the Modern Period, where the usage, however, remains confined to literary diction." Moreover, Curme (1962, 1:63-64) notes that the "cognate object" is characteristic of modern English: "Verbs which are usually intransitive often become transitive by taking a cognate object, i.e. a noun of a meaning cognate or similar to that of the verb, repeating and explaining more fully the idea expressed by the verb. The cognate object is usually modified by one or more adjectives or by an of-genitive, which makes it possible to describe the action still more accurately: 'He *died a violent death.* He *is living a sad and lonely life.* He *laughed a little short ugly laugh.* He *sighed a sigh of ineffable satisfaction.*'"

used "in a way that seems unnecessary or redundant in English": "I beheld, and saw *the people of the seed of my brethren* that *they* had overcome my seed" (87-88).[34]

9. *Interchangeable prepositions.* Prepositions inappropriate in English appear in the text: "after ye have arrived *to* the promised land" (88).

10. *Comparisons.* "The Book of Mormon frequently uses the word *above* in comparisons in a way that is more like the Hebrew use of *from*": "a land which is *choice above* all other lands" (88-89).

11. *Naming conventions.* A periphrastic idiom is employed in naming someone or something: "we did call the *name* of the place Shazer" (89).

12. *Possessive pronouns.* The possessive pronoun is expressed by a genitival phrase: "hear *the words of me*" (89).

13. *Words used in unusual ways.* For example: "we are upon an *isle* of the sea," referring to the "American continent" (90).

On the basis of such examples, Tvedtnes concludes: "These Hebraisms, as I will call them, are evidence of the authenticity of the Book of Mormon—evidence that Joseph Smith did not write a book in English but translated an ancient text and that his translation reflects the Hebrew words and word order of the original" (1991, 77).[35]

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34. Tvedtnes cites Genesis 1:4 (*wayyar' 'elohim et-ha'or ki-Tob*) as the Hebrew template for certain Book of Mormon phraseologies, such as "I beheld, and saw *the people of the seed of my brethren* that *they* had overcome my seed" (1 Ne. 12:20); "I beheld *the wrath of God,* that *it* was upon the seed of my brethren" (1 Ne. 13:14); "And I beheld *the Spirit of the Lord,* that *it* was upon the Gentiles" (1 Ne. 13:15); and "I ... beheld *the power of the Lamb of God,* that *it* descended" (1 Ne. 14:14). He translates the Hebrew of Genesis as "God saw the *light* that *it* was good," remarking that "the King James Bible reflects the Hebrew wording, despite the fact that in English the normal way of saying this would be, 'God saw that the light was good'" (1991, 87f.). The Hebrew *wayyar' 'elohim et-ha'or ki-Tob* translates literally as "and God saw the light that good" (predicate adjective). The KJV solution is to add a resumptive pronoun, as well as a form of the verb *to be,* making *ki-Tob* into a subordinate clause: "that it was good." A similar construction occurs in Genesis 6:2 with a resumptive pronoun, *wayyir'u bene ha'elohim'et-bnot ha'adam ki-Tobot hennah,* that the KJV treats in the same way it does Genesis 1:4: "that the sons of God saw the daughters of men that they were fair." A more literal English translation would be: "and the sons of God saw that the daughters of mankind were beautiful" (predicate adjective). Waltke and O'Connor note that "English does not discriminate between stative verbs and predicate adjective constructions." But Hebrew marks the stative, while leaving the predicate-adjective construction unmarked. "English cannot render the latter representation; it must add the 'dummy verb' *to be,* thereby making it appear as though there is no difference between the two Hebrew constructions" (1990, 364-65). Therefore none of the Book of Mormon examples Tvedtnes cites is valid, because all the subordinate clauses are either verbal or adverbial—not adjectival. Tvedtnes's use of this construction as an example of an underlying Hebraism in the Book of Mormon is inappropriate. It is more likely that Smith was imitating KJV English literary patterns with which he was familiar.

35. Elsewhere Tvedtnes contends that "the best evidence for the Book of Mormon is not archaeological or historical in nature, as important as these may be, but rather linguistic.

For these categories to prove underlying Hebrew as Tvedtnes claims, they must be confined to the Book of Mormon. If numerous examples are found in other productions of Joseph Smith, the argument for a literal translation of the Book of Mormon from Hebrew is weakened and the possibility that they are due to Smith's familiarity with the King James Version English is strengthened.

In fact these categories are not confined to the Book of Mormon. The first fifteen chapters of the 1833 BoC contain numerous examples of Tvedtnes's "Hebraisms" in Smith's other writings (see Appendix A).

Which came first? Smith's literal, KJV-like rendering of the English in the Book of Mormon, which would have so strongly affected him that he used the same style in his revelations? If so, his revelations did not come word for word from God but were only impressions in his mind, which he then articulated in his own KJV English. Could he not also have produced the Book of Mormon in the same manner, utilizing his KJV literary style? On the other hand, was Smith the Lord's mouthpiece—a vessel through whom the Lord channeled? If so, then the "Hebraisms" in the Book of Mormon and the BoC/D&C (as well as grammatical and syntactic errors[36]) are the Lord's, and the Lord does not really speak to "my servants in their weakness, *after the manner of*

This is because we have before us a printed text which can be subjected to linguistic analysis and comparison with the language spoken in the kingdom of Judah at the time of Lehi" (1984, 176). *Any* linguistic evidence would be the "best evidence" for the historicity of the Book of Mormon. Indeed because of the absence of archaeological or historical evidence, it would be the only evidence. But in the absence of the gold plates, there can be no linguistic evidence either—only English-to-Hebrew analogs. However, since Sorenson's geographical theory places the Nephites in his Maya (Lamanite) region, an exciting area of research for Book of Mormon apologists would be to scour the recently-deciphered Mayan hieroglyphic texts and inscriptions for any references to Nephites.

36. A few examples from the first edition of the Book of Mormon:

2 Ne. 5:32: "And if my people be pleased with the things of God, they be pleased with mine engravings";

Mosiah 27:1: "the persecutions which was inflicted on the church";

Alma 12:26: "if it were possible that our first parents could have went forth"

Hel. 7:8: "yea, if my days could have been in them days"

Hel. 13:25-26: "And now when ye talk, ye say, If our days had been in the days of our fathers of old, ye would not have slain the prophets; ye would not have stoned them, and cast them out. Behold, ye are worse than they";

3 Ne. 28:25: "Behold, I were about to write the names of those who were never to taste of death";

Ether 2:15: "And the brother of Jared repented him of the evil which he had done";

Ether 5:1: "And now I, Moroni have written the words which was commanded me";

Moro. 8:5: "for if you have learned the truth, there has been disputations among you."

their language, that they might come to understanding" (D&C 1:24; emphasis added), but speaks English with a rather thick Hebrew grammatical and syntactic "accent." In that case, maybe some of the old rabbis were correct and Hebrew—not Spanish—is God's language.[37]

Royal Skousen raises an intriguing possibility about "Hebraisms." He frames the question of whether the Book of Mormon is a literal translation this way: "This supposed problem of grammatical 'errors' leads directly to the question of whether the Book of Mormon text represents the Lord's actual language to Joseph Smith or simply Joseph Smith's own translation using his own language. In other words, does the Book of Mormon represent a direct and exact revelation from the Lord, or did the ideas come in Joseph's mind and then he put them into his own words?" (1990, 50)

Skousen rejects evidence for "loose control" of the translation (viz., that the bad grammar and syntax reflect Smith's poor education). Rather he proposes that Smith "allowed" the faithfully translated Book of Mormon "to be [re-]'translated' from its original [manuscript English] language into standard English" in subsequent editions. Moreover, rather than Smith using the KJV "to help him translate biblical passages," Skousen proposes that "it was the Lord himself who chose to quote from the King James Version when it agreed with the Book of Mormon" (55; cf. Ashment 1990, 247-48).

As "evidence for tight control," Skousen first presents statements by "observers and participants" of the production process. All "mention an instrument of translation in a hat" and confirm that Smith did not require the "gold plates or any other physical text" as he dictated the contents of the Book of Mormon.

Skousen next points to David Whitmer's observation that Smith was unable to pronounce some of the Book of Mormon names appearing in English in the stone. As a result he "spelled them out in syllables, and the more erudite scribe put them together" (52).[38] After the first occurrence, Smith did not continue to spell them out because "spelling variation of hard-to-spell names (like Amalickiah) does oc-

37. For the influence of the KJV on the BoC/D&C, see the discussion and references in Pack 1973, 178f.

38. Smith's pronunciation of Nephi as *Nēfī,* for example, is borne out by the 1869 edition of the Book of Mormon in the phonetic Deseret script. But John Gee (1992), anxious to create an ancient Egyptian antecedent for Nephi, overrides Smith's carefully worked-out pronunciation and claims that it really is to be pronounced Nêfi. That way he can declare that Nephi is a homophone of the ancient Egyptian Nfr. Gee impressively cites numerous examples of ancient Egyptian names that contain *Nfr* and concludes misleadingly that Smith's Nephi "is the proper form of a proper name of the proper gender from the proper place and proper time" (191).

cur in the manuscripts" (53).

Finally, Skousen points to what he calls "Semitic textual evidence." Here he refers to Nibley's work for "many examples of Semitic and other Near Eastern names and phrases in the Book of Mormon." Skousen argues that placed alongside the "spelling control" of names, Nibley's project provides "evidence for control at the word level." In this same context Skousen refers to Welch's studies about chiasmus in the Book of Mormon, which "demonstrate a tight control on the order of specific words and phrases."

He notes that there are "some very interesting textual relationships between Book of Mormon passages and corresponding biblical passages." He cites for his example the Book of Mormon version of Isaiah 3:18-23. Here "the" was missing before "hoods." This same "the" is missing in the Vatican version of the Septuagint and in texts at least partially dependent on the Septuagint. Skousen finds it remarkable that of "all the *the*'s that could have been 'accidentally' deleted in this long list, Joseph Smith comes up with the one that is missing in part of the biblical textual tradition" (53f.). Thus Skousen appeals to a missing word in the second-century B.C.E. Greek translation of the Hebrew scriptures, the Septuagint, as evidence that Joseph Smith literally translated the Book of Mormon from gold plates. The possibility of a simple omission of "the" either by Smith or his scribes during the production of the Book of Mormon is not considered.

Skousen suggests that the first edition of the Book of Mormon contained many "Hebraisms" which subsequently were edited out: "As an example, in English we express a conditional statement by using *if* and optionally *then*, as in the sentence 'if you come, (then) I will come.' In Hebrew, this same idea would be expressed as 'if you come and I will come.' The original text of the Book of Mormon contains many examples of this Hebrew way of expressing a conditional statement. Consider, for instance, the famous passage from Moroni 10:4. In the original language, it read as follows: 'and if you shall ask with a sincere heart with real intent having faith in Christ *and* he will manifest the truth of it unto you by the power of the Holy Ghost.' Although this sentence is excellent Hebrew, it is rather difficult for English speakers to understand. Accordingly, the conjunction *and* was removed by later editing (in the 1837 Kirtland edition)" (1992, 20).

A cursory examination of conditional clauses in the 1830 edition of the Book of Mormon, BoC, and book of Jeremiah (included as a contemporary Hebrew control document) reveals that the actual situation is not nearly so clear cut. Table 2 provides a summary of conditional clauses which are unmarked, marked by an "and," anomalously marked, or marked by "then" in these three sources. (For a detailed breakdown of the various clauses, see Appendix B.)

Table 2.

Total English Conditional Clauses	
Book of Mormon	476
Doctrine and Covenants 1-20	64
Jeremiah	38

Percent Unmarked English Apodoses		
Book of Mormon	68%	(324)
Doctrine and Covenants 1-20	73%	(47)
KJV Jeremiah	47%	(18)
Hebrew Jeremiah	29%	(11)

Percent Anomalous English Apodoses		
Book of Mormon	19%	(90)
Doctrine and Covenants 1-20	17%	(11)
KJV Jeremiah	3%	(1)
Hebrew Jeremiah	13%	(5)

Percent "Then"-Marked English Apodoses		
Book of Mormon	8%	(39)
Doctrine and Covenants 1-20	3%	(2)
KJV Jeremiah	47%	(18)
Hebrew Jeremiah	0%	(0)

Percent "And"-English Apodoses		
Book of Mormon	5%	(23)
Doctrine and Covenants 1-20	6%	(4)
KJV Jeremiah	3%	(1)
Hebrew Jeremiah	58%	(22)

According to Skousen's rule, there should be at least a significant percentage of conditional clauses with the apodosis marked by "and" in Smith's first edition of the Book of Mormon—a "tightly-controlled" (literal) translation. (After all, 58 percent of the apodoses in the Hebrew Jeremiah are marked by *w.*) But the above table shows only 5 percent—even less than in the English D&C. Moreover, 29 percent of the apodoses of the conditional clauses in the Hebrew Jeremiah ignore Skousen's rule and are unmarked (i.e., "if ... O"). Patterning the percentage of conditional clauses in the Book of Mormon after the Hebrew Jeremiah—if in fact the Book of Mormon were "tightly-controlled"—there should be about 29 percent unmarked apodoses. Instead there are more than twice as many—68 percent (324)—again, much more characteristic of the English D&C.

Thus Skousen's rule for the marked apodosis in Hebrew appears to be too comprehensive and is misrepresentative of the evidence. For in contrast with the Hebrew Jeremiah, and contrary to Skousen's rule, the "tightly-controlled" (literal) first edition of the Book of Mormon contains an extremely low percentage of "and"-marked apodoses. Moreover, in contrast with the Hebrew Jeremiah, and contrary to Skousen's rule, the "tightly-controlled" (literal) first edition of the Book of Mormon contains a high percentage of unmarked apodoses. On the other hand, it is significant that the percentages of occurrences of the apodosis marker of conditional clauses in the Book of Mormon are characteristic of the English D&C. The evidence from the Book of Mormon and the D&C illustrates that both works originated from the same author.

In the same apologetic tradition, Brian Stubbs proposes that the Book of Mormon English reflects an underlying Hebrew text. Stubbs argues that an unusual syntactic pattern can be discerned in the Book of Mormon, characterized by *-ing* forms of verbs[39] or nominative absolutes (after Curme 2:17.3). Such collocations are "acceptable in Hebrew, though unorthodox and discouraged in English" (cf. Brown, in Visser 2:1038 and Schlesinger 1992, 110). Stubbs cites Mosiah 7:21-22 as an example: "Ye all are witnesses ... that Zeniff, who was made king, ... he being over zealous, ... therefore being deceived by ... King Laman, who having entered into a treaty, ... and having yielded up [various cities], ... and the land round about—and all this he did, for the sole purpose of bringing this people ... into bondage."[40]

The Book of Mormon contains numerous collocations consisting of the nominative absolute followed by a verbal clause introduced by the consequentive conjunction "there- wherefore." Examples from 1 Nephi alone include[41]:

1 Ne. 1:1:	I, Nephi, *having been born* of goodly parents, *therefore* I was taught somewhat in all the learning of my father;
1 Ne. 1:1:	and *having seen many afflictions* in the course of my days, nevertheless, *having been highly favored*

39. Visser (2:1036-37) hesitates to label the *-ing* form as a "gerund," which accounts only for its nominative use. The *-ing* form, having a dual origin, has two functions: one is verbal, the other nominal. Both meanings are evident in modern collocations. He prefers "the duplex form in *-ing*."

40. Stubbs also refers to Mosiah 2:20-21 and Helaman 1:16-17.

41. See also Jacob 1:10-11; 7:26; Omni 1:1-2, 25, 28; Mosiah 1:4; 2:7; 7:21; 9:1-2; 18:32; 19:4; 20:3; 21:23; 23:1; 24:3; Alma 1:1, 9; 2:16, 28; 7:1; 12:31-32; 13:3; 15:16-18; 16:5; 18:16; 19:2, 6-7, 17; 35:15-16; 46:34; 47:4; 48:5; 50:30; 52:21, 34; 62:30; 63:5; Hel. 3:7; 11:23, 24; 3 Ne. 3:4; 4:24; 7:12, 15-16; Morm. 1:15; 2:1; 6:6; Ether 13:16.

of the Lord in all my days; yea, *having had a great knowledge of the goodness and the mysteries of God, therefore* I make a record of my proceedings in my days;

1 Ne. 2:16: And it came to pass that I, Nephi, *being exceedingly young* never the less *being large in stature*, and also *having great desires to know of the mysteries of God, wherefore*, I did cry unto the Lord;

1 Ne. 7:8: And now I, Nephi, *being grieved* for the hardness of their hearts *therefore* I speak unto them;

1 Ne. 15:3: and they *being hard* in their hearts, *therefore* they did not look unto the Lord.

If such nominative absolutes in the Book of Mormon were "acceptable" Hebrew syntax, the 1981 text from the modern *Selections from the Book of Mormon in Hebrew* should readily reflect the literally-translated Book of Mormon text. In fact, it does not.

'ani nepi noladti lehorim nikbadim; laken yussad leqaH limmuday 'al Heleq mikkol torat 'abi	I, Nephi, was borne to honorable progenitors. Therefore, the learning of my teachings was founded on a portion from all the instruction of my father.
'omnam ra'ot rabbot ra'iti beyomay 'ak 'adonay Hanan 'oti berob Tubo kol yomay. 'ap qaniti rob da'at 'al Tub 'elohim usetaraw. 'al ken 'ershom 'et zikronot qorotay beyomay.	Truly great miseries have I seen in my days. But the Lord favored me from the abundance of his goodness all my days. Also, I have acquired an abundance of knowledge concerning the goodness of God and his secret places. Therefore, I inscribe the remembrances of my encounters in my days.
wa'ani nepi 'ap ki hayiti ca'ir me'od hayiti 'ish middah wegam hayu li teshuqot gedolot lada'at 'al 'odot mistere 'eloah. 'al ken za'aqeti 'el 'adonay	and though ('ap ki) I, Nephi, was very young, I was a man of stature, and also there were to me great longings to know concerning the mysteries of God. Therefore, I cried to the Lord.
wa'ani nepi ne'ecabti 'al qeshi libbam. 'al ken dibbarti 'alehem	and I, Nephi, was grieved concerning the hardness of their heart. Therefore, I spoke to them
ubiglal qeshi libbam lo' panu 'aHay 'el 'adonay	and on account of the hardness of their heart, my brothers did not turn to the Lord

Contrary to Stubbs's assertions, the unusual syntax of the Book of Mormon is not characteristic of Hebrew.[42] To help make this clear, Genesis 1:1 is written according to the syntax the Words of Mormon 15-18.[43] The Book of Mormon text is on the left, and the biblical text in Book of Mormon syntax is on the right:

15. And it came to pass that after there had been false Christs, and their mouths had been shut, and they punished according to their crimes;
16. And after there had been false prophets, and false preachers and teachers among the people, and all these having been punished according to their crimes; and after there having been much contention and many dissensions away unto the Lamanites, behold, it came to pass that king Benjamin, with the assistance of the holy prophets who were among his people—
17. For behold, king Benjamin was a holy man, and he did reign over his people in righteousness; and there were many holy men in the land, and they did speak the word of God with power and with authority; and they did use much sharpness because of the stiffneckedness of the people—

And it came to pass that after the Gods had counseled among themselves, and their counsels had been spoken, and they considered according to their merit;
And after there had been Lucifer, and his followers and his angels among the intelligences that were before the world was, and all these having been cast down; and after many of the noble and great ones having been chosen to be rulers, behold, *in the beginning* it came to pass that *God*, with the assistance of the noble and great ones who were among the spirits—

For behold, there is no god beside God, and all things are present with him, for he knows them all; and there was one among the noble and great ones that was like unto God, and he said unto those who were with him: we will go down, for there is space there, and we will take of these materials, and we will make an earth—

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42. Nor is it representative of Egyptian. For a salient characteristic of Egyptian "is its concision; the phrases and sentences are brief and to the point. Involved constructions and lengthy periods are rare, though such are found in some legal documents" (Gardiner, 1969, 4). It is remarkable that such a penchant for periphrasis would be characteristic of a record scratched into metal with a stylus: "I cannot write but a little of my words, because of the difficulty of engraving our words upon plates" (Jacob 4:1).

43. For additional examples, see 1 Ne. 1:4; 10:17; 16:21; 17:30; 18:17; 2 Ne. 1:10-11; 6:2; Jacob 4:1-3; Enos 1:1-2; Omni 1:12-13; Mosiah 15:2-9; 16:11-12; 18:4; 19:26; 29:35-36, 42; Alma 2:1-2; 3:1-3; 7:1; 8:1, 14; 9:19-23; 10:19; 13:3-9; 16:1, 21; 17:6, 18; 22:30; 25:5-6; 31:1; 43:38; 47:36; 51:1-2; Hel. 2:6-7; 7:4-6; 3 Ne. 4:4; 6:17; 20:26-27; Morm. 4:15. Note 1 Ne. 3:17 in the first edition: "And all this he hath done, because of the commandments of the Lord: for he knowing that Jerusalem must be destroyed, because of the wickedness of the people. For behold, they have rejected the words of the prophets—"

18. Wherefore, with the help of these, king Benjamin, by laboring with all the might of his body and the faculty of his whole soul, and also the prophets, did once more establish peace in the land.

Wherefore, with the help of these, God, by laboring with the Gods and all the noble and great ones, and also the spirits who were before the world was, *created the heavens and the earth.*

As this hypothetical demonstrates, that unusual syntax is not characteristic of the biblical text, but it does characterize other products by Joseph Smith such as the D&C and Pearl of Great Price.[44]

The foregoing discussion illustrates how the "Hebraisms" apologetic attempts to athenticate the historicity of the Book of Mormon indirectly by searching for grammatical and syntactic peculiarities in the English text for which analogous parallels can be adduced from authentic Hebrew texts, then bearing witness that Smith produced the Book of Mormon from a hypothetically Hebrew original. Various arguments and devices are used to make those parallels appear more convincing—even if actual English usage and Hebrew grammatical and syntactic rules must be misrepresented. The "Hebraisms" apologetic must minimize obvious relationships between the KJV and the Book of Mormon text by ignoring the fact that the latter is badly contaminated by numerous quotations and paraphrases from the former–even from the New Testament in allegedly sixth-century B.C.E. material[45]—and in ignoring or trivializing obvious KJV-isms in Smith's revelations.

CLAIMS FOR "INDIVIDUAL AUTHORSHIP" IN THE BOOK OF MORMON

Another apologetic approach is to seek for individual styles of the various characters in the Book of Mormon in an attempt to demonstrate that the Book of Mormon text is not the product of one man but is a translation of a compilation of the writings of a number of men. One type of stylistic study concentrates on idiosyncratic phraseologies; a second seeks to establish "wordprints" for the various characters introduced in the Book of Mormon.

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44. See D&C 1:17, 29; 19:2-5; 20:1-4, 6, 13, 73; 29:36, 49; 33:15; 38:26; 42:74; 74:4; 26:11-12; 93:38; 104:52; Moses 1:24-25; 5:48-50; Abr. 1:2, 5, 23, 26, 27; JS-H 1:15, 19, 28, 45, 52, 59, 66, 68, 74.

45. Apart from the obvious quotations from KJV Isaaiah in 1 and 2 Nephi, note for example the parallels between 1 Ne. 13-14 and Rev. 17-19—Nephi gets a preview of John's revelation; 1 Ne. 22:25 quotes and paraphrases John 10:14-16; 1 Ne. 4:13 paraphrases John 11:50. For a list of KJV-"quotations, paraphrases, or allusions" in the "large plate" section of the Book of Mormon, see Pack 1973, 189-194.

In an article captioned "A Reader Notes an Expression That Is Unique to Nephi," the Brigham Young University-affiliated Foundation for Ancient Research and Mormon Studies (FARMS) cites the work of Richard Rust, who focuses on Nephi's phrase "my soul delighteth." According to Rust, this phrase "appears to be unique to Nephi," thus serving as "a hallmark of Nephi's writing" (Rust 1992, 4). The FARMS article concludes: "Since it appears to be unique to Nephi and not randomly scattered through the book (as would presumably have been the case if one writer—Joseph Smith—had written the book), Rust finds this unique usage another piece of circumstantial evidence for the authenticity of the Book of Mormon."

Rust rightly points out that the phrase "appears to be unique to Nephi" in the Book of Mormon, but he neglects to provide the proper context. That this phrase occurs only in 2 Nephi is significant. After Smith lost 116 pages of the original manuscript, he did not immediately return to the beginning and start over. Rather he continued on from the portion of the manuscript he had retained and dictated the rest of the Book of Mormon. Then he returned to the beginning of the chronology and dictated material designated as having come from the "small plates," which covered the very time period of the lost pages. (See Metcalfe, in this compilation.)

Smith quoted relatively little Isaiah material in his text from Words of Mormon through Moroni (predominantly from Isaiah 52-54; see Pack 1973, 190f.). But extensive sections of Smith's last-dictated text are comprised of direct quotations from KJV Isaiah: 1 Ne. 20-21 (= Isa. 48-49); 2 Ne. 7-8 (= Isa. 50-52:2); 2 Ne. 12-24 (= Isa. 2-14); 2 Ne. 27:2-35 (= Isa. 29:6-24) (see Ashment 1990b, 260n55). "My soul delighteth" occurs in Isaiah 42:1, 55:2, and 66:3. It is no surprise that the phrase first occurs in the Book of Mormon at 2 Nephi 4:15. There the phrase is sandwiched between extensive quotations from KJV Isaiah. Virtually all other occurrences of the phrase come immediately before or after the Isaiah quotations (at 2 Ne. 4:16; 9:37, 49, 51; 11:1, 4, 5[2], 6; 25:4, 5, 13; and 31:13).

Rust's only example of the phrase from someone other than Nephi—by Jacob in 2 Nephi 9:51—is in reality a paraphrase of Isaiah 55:2:

Isa. 55:2:	Wherefore do ye spend money for that which is not bread? And your labour for that which satisfieth not? Hearken diligently unto me, and eat ye that which is good, *and let your soul delight itself in fatness.*
2 Ne. 9:51:	Wherefore do not spend money for that which is of no worth, nor your labor for that which cannot satisfy. Hearken diligently unto me, and remember the words

> which I have spoken; and come unto the Holy One of Israel, and feast upon that which perisheth not, neither can be corrupted, *and let your soul delight in fatness.*

Consequently, instead of being an idiom virtually exclusive to Nephi, the evidence indicates that when Smith saw the idiom in Isaiah he used it fourteen times while it was fresh in his mind. The fact that he actually quoted Isaiah using that very phrase in 2 Nephi 9:51 demonstrates his awareness of its origin. Had he dictated 1 and 2 Nephi at the beginning—rather than at the end—of his Book of Mormon narration, the phrase may well have appeared at least occasionally in the rest of the book. That Smith used it after 2 Nephi is demonstrated by D&C 25:12, 14.

"My soul delighteth" is not a diagnostic characteristic of Nephi's idiomatic style, which therefore provides "another piece of circumstantial evidence of the authenticity of the Book of Mormon." Rather it reflects Smith's narration sequence of the Book of Mormon and shows that he freely used KJV biblical idioms in his narration.

In a potpourri chapter edited by John Welch (1992), several apologists advance similar arguments intended to authenticate the historicity of the Book of Mormon. The chapter focuses on words and phrases in the Book of Mormon which, according to Welch, reflect ancient Near Eastern usages and attitudes. He suggests that "phrase distributions" in various locations in the Book of Mormon reflect various characters' rhetorical styles or "attitudes ... that were particularly relevant and current" at a specific time period.

For example, he cites one phrase cluster, "Lord [God] Omnipotent," which appears "six times in the Book of Mormon, and all six of them are in King Benjamin's speech" (at Mosiah 3:5, 17, 18, 21; 5:2, 15). Consequently, the article concludes, "this name for God, spoken four times by the angel in Mosiah 3, and once by the people and once by Benjamin in Mosiah 5, was distinctive to Benjamin's speech and perhaps was not generally used by other Nephites outside of Benjamin's text" (282).

What the article fails to mention is that the first occurrence of this phrase is a paraphrase from Revelation 19:6. As with the phrase "my soul delighteth," the use of this idiom in the Book of Mormon is tied to a phrase from the KJV and only occurs in a limited context. Again the distribution of the phrase suggests that Smith used the idiom frequently while it was fresh in his mind.

A second example is the phrase "the Holy One of Israel," which "never appears in the Book of Mormon except in the Small Plates of Nephi and in passages quoted from Isaiah." The article notes, "This name for God appears some thirty times in the Old Testament, and al-

most all of those occurrences are in Isaiah or in texts that originated around the time of Lehi," suggesting that "this name reflects attitudes about God that were particularly relevant and current around Lehi's time" (283). The term occurs twenty-seven times in Isaiah.[46] In the Book of Mormon the phrase first occurs in 1 Nephi 19:14 and continues to appear throughout the Isaiah-quotation sections for a total of thirty-five times.[47] As with "my soul delighteth" and "Lord [God] Omnipotent," while "Holy One of Israel" was fresh on Smith's mind, he used it extensively in dictating that portion of the Book of Mormon.

Another word and phrase "*island* and *isles of the sea*" appear exclusively in the Books of 1 Nephi and 2 Nephi. Why should the important prophecies of Isaiah about the Lord remembering 'those who are upon the isles of the sea' (2 Nephi 10:21; Isaiah 11:11; 49:1; 51:5) be so prominent here but unmentioned later?" The article suggests that "at first the Nephites figured they were upon an island of the sea, and it took a few years for the Nephites to explore their new land far enough to realize that they were upon a much larger land mass than an island" (283).[48]

It is important to note that the phrase does not occur in the Book of Mormon before 1 Nephi 19:10 even though the Land of Promise is mentioned several times previously.[49] It does occur in a section of the Book of Mormon which centers around extensive quotations from Isaiah,[50] just as "my soul delighteth," "Lord (God) Omnipotent," and "Holy One of Israel."

The article identifies another localized example, "great and abominable church," noting that this phrase is confined to the "early Nephite writings" and that "Nephi uses the phrase eleven times, and his brother Jacob uses it once in 2 Nephi 6:12." On the basis of this distribution, the article concludes that it "appears to have remained so distinctively associated with Nephi's vision that it did not enter into any

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46. Isa. 5:19, 24; 10:20; 12:6, 7; 17:7; 29:19, 23 [of Jacob]; 30:11, 12, 15; 31:1; 37:23; 41:14, 16, 20; 43:3, 14, 15; 45:11; 47:4; 48:17; 49:7; 54:5; 55:5; 60:9, 14. It also occurs twice in Jeremiah (50:29; 51:5) and once in 2 Kings 19:22. "Holy One in Israel" occurs in Ezekiel 39:7.

47. 1 Ne. 19:14, 15; 20:17; 22:5, 18, 21, 24, 26, 28; 2 Ne. 1:10; 3:2; 6:9, 10(2), 15, 18(2), 19, 23, 24, 25, 26; 9:40, 41, 51; 15:19, 24; 21:21; 22:6; 25:29; 27:30, 34 (of Jacob); 30:2; 31:13. Two additional occurrences appear in Omni 1:25 and 26.

48. This explanation is contrary to Tvedtnes (1991, 90), who declares that it "seems strange to have Nephi call the American continent an island. But the Hebrew word generally translated *isle* in the Bible has a wider range of meaning than just *island*. It most often refers to coastal lands."

49. 1 Ne. 2:20; 4:14; 5:5, 22; 7:1, 13; 10:13; 12:1, 3, 4, 20; 13:12, 14, 20, 30; 14:2; 17:13, 14; 18:8, 22, 23, 25.

50. 1 Ne. 19:10, 12, 16; 21:1 (=Isa. 49:1), 8 (=Isa. 49:8); 22:4; 2 Ne. 8:5 (=Isa. 51:5); 21:11 (=Isa. 11:11); 29:7.

widely used Nephite theological discourse" (283). This phrase is not a distinctive feature of Nephi's speech pattern. Rather it seems more distinctive of the author of the book of Revelation and was imported into the Book of Mormon as an eschatological peshitta, which the Book of Mormon itself states. After the angel showed Nephi a vision parallel to Revelation 17-19, he tells him in 1 Nephi 14:18-30 that "one of the twelve apostles of the Lamb," whose name would be "John," would one day see and record the same vision ("he shall see and write the remainder of these things"), going beyond what Nephi recorded. John's work would be "plain and pure, and most precious and easy to the understanding of all men" when it would first appear, by implication doomed to the same obfuscatory editorial fate as the rest of the Bible at the hands of the "great and abominable church" (1 Ne. 13:26, 28).

Not only do the same phrases occur in Revelation and the Book of Mormon but also in the D&C (29:21, 88:94). (For a complete listing of the relevant phrases from all three sources, see Appendix C.) As with the "Hebraisms" that appear in the BoC, occurrence of the alleged idiosyncratic phraseologies in the D&C again returns us to the problem of which came first. Did Smith's literal translation of the Book of Mormon have such a great effect on him that he used the same phraseologies in his revelations? In that case his revelations must have been only impressions in his mind that he articulated in his own KJV scriptural English, thus accounting for their occurrence in the D&C. Or was he merely a vessel through whom the Lord channeled his revelations? But then the phraseologies would be those of the Lord and not diagnostic of any particular character in the Book of Mormon.

The high concentration of the term "the lamb (of God)" in both Revelation and 1 Nephi is noteworthy. The "lamb of God" occurs twice in the Bible (at John 1:29, 36). "The lamb," referring to a person, occurs exclusively in Revelation. In the Book of Mormon, "the Lamb (of God)" occurs virtually exclusively in 1 Nephi 10-14, for a total of fifty-six times. There are only thirteen occurrences in the remainder of the Book of Mormon. In addition the term occurs fifteen times in the D&C; it occurs once in the Pearl of Great Price.[51]

As with the other phrases—"my soul delighteth," "Lord [God] Omnipotent," "Holy One of Israel," "isles of the sea," and "great and abominable church"—phrases from the Bible seemed to trigger "the

51. Rev. 5:6, 8, 12, 13; 6:1, 16; 7:9, 10, 14, 17; 12:11; 13:8, 11; 14:1, 4(2), 10; 15:3; 17:14(2); 19:7, 9; 21:9, 14, 22, 23, 27; 22:1, 3; 1 Ne. 10:10; 11:21, 27, 31(2), 32, 34, 35, 36; 12:6, 8, 9, 10, 11(2), 18; 13:24, 26(2), 28, 29(2), 32, 33, 34(4), 35(2), 36, 37, 38, 39(2), 40(2), 41(3); 14:1, 2, 3, 6, 7, 10(2), 12(2), 13, 14(2), 20, 24, 25, 26, 27. See also 2 Ne. 31:4, 5, 6; 33:14; Alma 7:14; 13:11; 34:36; Hel. 6:5; Morm. 9:2, 3, 6; Ether 13:10, 11. D&C 58:11; 65:3; 76:21, 39, 85, 119; 88:106, 115; 109:79; 122:6; 132:19; 133:18, 55, 56(2); Moses 7:47.

Lamb [of God]" usage. The cumulative distribution of these terms begins to point to a pattern in Smith's work. A new phrase would be used in a concentrated way and then dropped. These concentrations do not indicate idiosyncratic nor temporally-specific usages by Book of Mormon characters.

In a different vein the article asserts that the (Mormon?) concept of "'the second death' is at home in Egyptian texts and iconography depicting the divine judgment of Osiris" (283-84). In its caption to an Egyptian 21st Dynasty judgment scene (see Piankoff 1957, 53, 147ff., pl. 17; an illustration that accompanies Book of the Dead, chap. 125) the article notes that "Alma spoke of the 'second death,' a concept also found in ancient Egyptian religion ... If one's heart is too hard and heavy, it is devoured by the Chaos Monster in a second death" (284). But the Egyptian scale does not weigh "hardness." The deity Ammit first appears in the latter 18th Dynasty as the "Devourer of the Dead" (see Seeber 1976, 163) and does not specifically represent chaos. Both of the article's assertions are presentistic, eisegetically interpreting modern Mormon hermeneutics back into Egyptian beliefs.

Instead of appealing to ancient Egyptian beliefs to authenticate the Book of Mormon's use of the term "second death" as ancient in Alma 12:16, 32 and 13:30, the article should have referred to the book of Revelation, where the term occurs four times (2:11; 20:6, 14; 21:8) and to Jacob 3:11, where it first appears in the Book of Mormon, paraphrasing Revelation 21:8, thus establishing an antecedent for Smith's use of the term:

Rev. 21:8	But the fearful, and unbelieving, and the abominable, and murders, and whoremongers, and sorcerers, and idolaters, and all liars, shall have their part in *the lake which burneth with fire and brimstone: which is the second death.*
Jacob 3:11	... loose yourselves from the pains of hell that ye may not become angels to the devil, to be cast into *that lake of fire and brimstone which is the second death.*

Alma 12:16-17 contains those same elements, declaring the "second death" to be a "time when their torments shall be as a lake of fire and brimstone." The Egyptian Ammit, on the other hand, *eats* the damned.

Finally, the article wrongly attempts to equate the Book of Mormon phrase "it came to pass" with Mayan hieroglyphic anterior and posterior date and event indicators by declaring "the confirmation by Mayan experts that an element translated 'and it came to pass'" function in four ways, which the article also claimed to find in the Book of

Mormon. The time-obsessed Maya used those glyphic indicators specifically with calendric dates, denoting time lapse "since" or "until" a given date or event. They do not translate as "it came to pass," as the article claims, nor are they used as a literary device in narrative texts (see Schele 1982, 21-25).

The second apologetic approach that attempts to identify individual literary styles within the Book of Mormon appeals to statistical wordprint analysis or "stylometrics." Proponents of this method—Wayne Larsen, Alvin Rencher, and Tim Layton—declare: "The defenders of the book maintain that it is just what it claims to be—a sacred record written on metal plates by many ancient authors and translated by Joseph Smith with divine assistance and direction" (1980, 225). They point out that "Book of Mormon apologists find evidence of Hebrew and other ancient writing styles in the book" while "detractors point to the grammatical mistakes in the earlier editions as evidence that there could have been no miraculous translation." And "both sides also cite archaeological evidence to defend their points of view." They present wordprint analysis as the arbitrating solution to this confusion, advertising it as "a rigorous and objective statistical analysis" which would be a "test of the competing claims" (225).

Wordprint analysis refers to the study of "non-contextual" words that are characteristic of a specific author. The most famous wordprint study attempted to identify the anonymous Federalist Papers, the rest of which were known to have been written by John Jay, James Madison, and Alexander Hamilton. The author's style from the known documents served as a control for the anonymous ones. Those documents paralleling Madison's style were attributed to him and those paralleling Hamilton's to him (see Mosteller and Wallace 1964). Thus reliance on a known body of literature of a given author provides the crucial control when studying an unattributed item.[52]

The first problem facing wordprint analysis of the Book of Mormon is the impossibility of such control. No documents of known attribution exist outside of the text of the Book of Mormon for any of the disputed authors. As a result Larsen, Rencher, and Layton must presuppose discrete authorship within the Book of Mormon in order to discover discrete authorship. For example, they must accept the Book of Mormon's declaration that Alma is the author of a given text within the book in order to test it as Alma's text. This means that the item to

52. Hilton correctly observes that "Wordprinting measures the difference in the way non-contextual word patterns occur in two compared texts. Usually one of the texts is of disputed authorship while the other is by an author suspected of writing the disputed text" (1990, 21).

be tested becomes the control document for itself.[53]

Larsen, Rencher, and Layton make two assumptions: "(1) that each of the major engravers and those they quote were distinct individuals, and (2) that the writers of each verse, or partial verse, could be identified according to information given in the text" (229). Assuming the historicity of the account, they accept at face value, for example, discrete authorship for Mormon, Alma, Amulek, and an angel in the two-verse segment of Alma 8:19-20 (see Fig. 11). They do not consider the possibility that 400 years hence Mormon may have paraphrased and encapsulated material that he attributed to various characters in the text.

Figure 11.
The Authorship of Alma 8:19-20, According to Larsen, Rencher, and Layton (1980, 229)

Source	Segment
Mormon	19. And as he entered the city he was an hungered, and he said to a man:
Alma	Will you give to an humble servant of God something to eat?
Mormon	20. And the man said unto him:
Amulek	I am a Nephite, and I know that thou art a prohet of God, for thou art a holy prophet of God, thou art the man whom an angel said in a vision:
Angel	Thou shalt receive.
Amulek	Therefore, go with me into my house and I will impart unto thee of my food; and I know that thou wilt be ablessing unto me and my house.

Larsen, Rencher, and Layton further obfuscate the issue by comparing an alleged Book of Mormon author's wordprint with certain of Smith's other published material, failing to take into account that the "control" material for Smith has been heavily edited.

John L. Hilton (1990) makes the same assumptions as Larsen, Rencher, and Layton. He presents another wordprint analysis of the text of the Book of Mormon and comes to the same conclusions. He declares: "Of course, wordprint analysis, while it can measure certain

53. They use the Book of Mormon as evidence of itself in much the same way Robert P. Carroll observes that a "literal reading" about the production of the book of Jeremiah from Jeremiah 36 seems to "presuppose too many unwarranted assumptions about the text and also to involve a circularity of argument whereby xxxvi is read as a statement of how the book was produced and then used as evidence for the reliability of such an account. Circularity of this kind is a useless tool for the analysis of biblical texts" (1991, 224).

facts objectively, cannot prove the holiness of the Book of Mormon. The understanding that the Book of Mormon has a divine origin is obtainable only by developing faith. Thus, while valid and objective wordprinting is no substitute for faith, wordprinting can, nevertheless, bolster the establishment of faith by rigorously demonstrating factual information about the book." With his agenda of "bolstering the establishment of faith" through his word-print analysis, he accordingly sets his parameters and measures the data to conclude unsurprisingly that "the Book of Mormon measures multiauthored, with authorship consistent to its own internal claims" (101).

Conclusion

Robert J. Matthews, former dean of religious instruction at Brigham Young University, has drawn a line in the sand regarding the historicity of the Book of Mormon: "The reader of the Book of Mormon is forced to decide: either Joseph Smith was a fraud who has now been exposed though his citing biblical passages that have been disproved by scientific investigation, or Joseph Smith was a prophet who translated an ancient historical, doctrinal, religious record—a new witness for Jesus Christ. *There is no middle ground to this matter without compromise and a loss of truth*" (1992, 107; emphasis added).

In other words, for Matthews and other apologists the question of the historicity of the Book of Mormon is one of faith: if the Book of Mormon is True, then it is historical (see Ashment 1992, 286-87; 1990b, 251). This means that after a person becomes convinced that Joseph Smith was a prophet, she or he must accept the Book of Mormon uncompromisingly as "an *ancient historical*, doctrinal, religious record." Otherwise, according to Louis Midgley, a professor of political science at Brigham Young University, to "reduce the Book of Mormon to mere myth weakens, if not destroys, the possibility of it witnessing to the truth about divine things" (1990, 525). As Paul Althaus "looks to historical research for the guarantee that the Christ of faith is not just another great myth of world religions" (Meier 1991, 28), Midgley seeks to establish the historicity of the Book of Mormon so as not to weaken or destroy "the possibility of its witnessing to the truth about divine things." That is the apologetic agendum. Unfortunately there is no direct evidence to support the historical claims of the Book of Mormon—nothing archaeological, nothing philological. As a result, those for whom Truth is the product of spiritual witness, not empirical inquiry, resort to developing analogies and parallels to defend the book's historical claims. That is the apologetic historical methodology.[54]

54. For a discussion of its philosophical methodology, see Ashment 1992. When

This essay has considered three categories of assertions about the language of the Book of Mormon: those of the Book of Mormon about itself, those of Smith and his associates, and those of modern apologists. The Book of Mormon claims that it was written in Egyptian language/characters, which had become so reformed through time as to be undecipherable except through supernatural means. Smith claimed such means, and with his seer stone interpreted the characters from the ethereal plates. He and his associates suggested that a given character he deciphered could result in a word or even a concept longer than a sentence. In other words what he translated would have been pictographs, which can only be interpreted—not "translated"—because they are non-linguistic. Accordingly the underlying language of the Book of Mormon is Smith's KJV English.

With no direct, linguistic evidence for the gold plates being written in either Egyptian or Hebrew, modern apologists have appealed to analogies and parallels to defend the historicity of the Book of Mormon. In their deep conviction of already having the Truth of the Book of Mormon revealed to them spiritually they often misrepresent data in order to place it within Book-of-Mormon-authenticating parameters. As a result Book of Mormon "translation" apologetics have produced a broad range of explanations, some of which contradict others. But the contradictions and the multiplicity of approaches seem acceptable to apologists, for one way or another the Book of Mormon must continue to witness "to the truth about divine things."

Appendix A:
Hebraisms in the 1833 Book of Commandments

1. *Construct State:*
   —the voice of warning (I:1) [warning voice]
   —trust in the arm of flesh (I:4) [man's strength]
   —time of trouble (II:3) [troublesome times]
   —the waters of life (IX:16) [living waters]
   —spirit of revelation (X:11) [revelatory spirit]
   —spirit of prophecy (X:11) [prophetic spirit]
   —the children of men (XI:1) [mankind]

2. *Adverbials:*
   —he that thrusteth in his sickle with his might (III:1) [mightily]

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challenged, some Mormon apologists do not deal with the evidence adduced. Rather they dismiss it out-of-hand and denounce with *ad hominems* anyone who arrives at a conclusion unacceptable to them, accusing them of already having made up their minds according to a faith-position; of arriving at false and misperceived conclusions; of being enemies; of being anti-Mormons.

—for a wise purpose in me (IV:4) [my wise purpose]
—shall know of a surety (IV:4) [shall surely know]
—days of old (IV:5) [olden days]
—if they persist in the hardness of their hearts (IV:6) [if they persist hard-heartedly/being hardhearted]
—if thou art faithful in keeping my commandments (IV:11) [if you faithfully keep my commandments]
—it is wisdom in me (VIII:2) [it is my wisdom]
—things of righteousness (X:7) [righteous things]
—in faith believing in me (X:7) [faithfully believing in me]
—I speak unto you with sharpness and with power (XIII:1, 14:1) [sharply and powerfully]
—Ask the Father in my name in faith believing that you shall receive (XV:20) [faithfully believing]

3. *Cognates:*
—and *measure* unto every man according to the *measure* which he has *measured* to his fellow man (I:2)
—and by your hands I will *work* a marvelous *work* (XV:48)

4. *Compound Prepositions:*
—*by the mouths* of my disciples (I:1) [by my disciples]
—*after the manner* of their language (I:5) [in their language]
—*from on high* (I:5) [from heaven]
—Martin has desired a witness *from my hand* (IV:1) [from me]
—and receive a witness *from my hand* (IV:11) [from me]
—it shall deliver you out *of the hands of* your enemies (VII:2) [from your enemies]
—thou hast been baptized *by the hand of* my servant (XV:6) [by my servant]
—and *by your hands* I will work a marvelous work (XV:48) [by/through you]

5. *Conjunctions:*
—for the Lord is nigh; *and* the anger of the Lord is kindled, *and* his sword is bathed in heaven, *and* it shall fall upon the inhabitants of the earth; *and* the arm of the Lord shall be revealed; *and* the day cometh (I:3)
—*and inasmuch as* they erred, it might be made known: *and inasmuch as* they sought wisdom, they might be instructed; *and inasmuch as* they sinned, they might be chastened, that they might repent; *and inasmuch as* they were humble, they might be made strong; *and* blessed from on high, *and* receive knowledge from time to time (I:5)
—*and* also, the Lord shall have power over his saints, *and* shall reign in their midst, *and* shall come down in judgment (I:6)
—the Lord is God, *and* the Spirit beareth record, *and* the record is true, *and* the truth abideth forever and ever (I:7)
—The works, *and* the designs, *and* the purposes of God (II:1)

—you should have been faithful *and* he would have extended his arm, *and* supported you against all the fiery darts of the adversary; *and* he would have been with you in every time of trouble (II:3)

—Therefore, repent of that which thou hast done, *and* he will only cause thee to be afflicted for a season, *and* thou art still chosen, *and* wilt again be called to the work; *and* except thou do this, thou shalt be delivered up *and* become as other men, *and* have no more gift (II:4)

—[Smith gave the manuscript to Martin Harris,] a wicked man, who has set at nought the counsels of God, *and* has broken the most sacred promises, which were made before God, *and* has depended upon his own judgment, *and* boasted in his own wisdom, *and* this is the reason that thou hast lost thy privileges for a season (II:5)

—my people, the Nephites, *and* the Jacobites, *and* the Josephites, *and* the Zoramites, come to the knowledge of the Lamanites, *and* the Lemuelites *and* the Ishmaelites (II:6)

—*and* for this very purpose are these plates preserved ... that the promises of the Lord might be fulfilled ... ; *and* that the Lamanites might come to the knowledge of their fathers, *and* that they might know the promises of the Lord, *and* that they may believe the gospel and rely upon the merits of Jesus Christ, *and* be glorified through faith in his name; *and* that through their repentance they might be saved (II:6)

—*and* he has no power over [these things] except I grant it unto him; *and* he has a gift to translate the book, *and* I have commanded him that he shall pretend to no other gift (IV:2)

—*And* verily I say unto you (IV:3)

—*And* the testimony of three witnesses will I send forth *and* my word, *and* behold, whosoever believeth in my word, them will I visit with the manifestation of my Spirit, *and* they shall be born of me, *and* their testimony shall also go forth (IV:4)

—I will work a reformation among them, *and* I will put down all lyings, *and* deceivings, *and* priestcrafts, *and* envyings, *and* strifes, *and* idolatries, *and* sorceries, *and* all manner of iniquities, *and* I will establish my church (IV:5)

—Behold I speak unto you, *and* also to all those who have desires to bring forth and establish this work, *and* no one can assist in this work (XI:4)

—if you shall build up my church, *and* my gospel, *and* my rock (XV:4)

—you have my gospel before you, *and* my rock, *and* my salvation (XV:19)

—Take upon you the name of Christ, *and* speak the truth in soberness, *and* as many as repent, *and* are baptized in my name, which is Jesus Christ, *and* endure to the end, the same shall be saved (XV:23)

6. *Subordinate Clauses:*

—And now, *after that* you have received this (XV:47)

7. *Relative Clauses:*

—the Lamanites, and the Lemuelites and the Ishmaelites, *which* dwindled in unbelief (II:6)

—and for this very purpose are these plates preserved *which* contain these records (II:6)
—that the promises of the Lord might be fulfilled, *which* he made to his people (II:6)
—I have reserved the things of which I have spoken, *which* I have intrusted to my servant (IV:4)
—the things that he has done, *which* are wrong (IV:9)
—thou shalt be saved in the kingdom of God, *which* is the greatest of all the gifts of God (V:5)
—there are records which contain much of my gospel, *which* have been kept back because of the wickedness of the people (V:12)
—assuredly as the Lord liveth, *which* is your God and your Redeemer (VII:1)
—the engravings of old records, *which* are ancient, *which* contain those parts of my scripture (VII:1)
—those things that you have written, *which* have gone out of your hands (IX:9)

8. *Extrapositional Nouns and Pronouns:* (n.a.)

9. *Interchangeable Prepositions:*
—thou has received instruction of my Spirit (V:6)
—receive admonition of him (V:8)
—it is wisdom in me (IX:11)
—until the time which is in my wisdom (X:11)
—if ... you should labor in all your days (XV:17)

10. *Comparisons:*
—the blessings which I give unto you are *above* all things (XV:49)

11. *Naming Conventions:* (n.a.)

12. *Possessive Pronouns and Related Genitive Constructions:*
—the voice *of* the Lord (I:1)
—the authority *of* my servants (I:2)
—the wrath *of* God (I:2)
—the image *of* his own god (I:3)
—the inhabitants *of* the earth (I:4)
—the weak things *of* the world (I:4)
—these commandments are *of* me (I:5)
—inhabitants *of* the earth (I:6)
—it is not the work *of* God that is frustrated, but the work *of* men (II:2)
—the laws *of* God (II:3)
—the counsels *of* God (II:3)
—the fiery darts *of* the adversary (II:3)
—the promises *of* the Lord (II:6)
—the merits *of* Jesus Christ (II:6)

—ye that embark in the service *of* God (III:1)
—the glory *of* God (III:1)
—the inhabitants *of* the earth (IV:3)
—the testimony *of* three *of* my servants (IV:4)
—the hearts *of* the people *of* this generation (IV:6)
—the sword *of* justice (IV:6)
—the persuasions *of* men (IV:7)
—the cause *of* Zion (V:3)
—the mysteries *of* God (V:3)
—the keys *of* this gift (V:13)
—the kingdom *of* heaven (V:16)
—the manifestation *of* my Spirit (VII:1)
—this rod *of* nature (VII:3)
—it is the work *of* God (VII:3)
—the mysteries *of* God (VII:3)
—the mysteries *of* God (VII:4)
—the hands *of* a wicked man (IX:1)
—glory *of* the world (IX:3)
—the souls *of* men (IX:4)
—the hearts *of* the people (IX:7)
—the plates *of* Nephi (IX:10)
—reign *of* king Benjamin (IX:10)
—the record *of* Nephi (IX:10)
—the cunning *of* the devil (IX:10)
—the account *of* Nephi (IX:11)
—the plates *of* Nephi (IX:11)
—the engravings *of* Nephi (IX:11)
—the knowledge *of* my people (IX:13)
—the kingdom *of* heaven (IX:14)
—the kingdom *of* the devil (IX:14)
—a branch *of* the house *of* Jacob (IX:16)
—the true points *of* my doctrine (IX:16)
—the hearts *of* the people (IX:16)
—the same is not *of* me (IX:17)
—the kingdom *of* God (X:2)
—the mysteries *of* God (X:3)
—the sons *of* God (X:12)
—according to the callings and gifts *of* God unto men (XV:35)
—these words are not *of* men, nor *of* man, but *of* me (XV:37)
—they are *of* me, and not *of* man (XV:38)
—the kingdom *of* my Father (XV:50)

13. *Words Used in Unusual Ways:*
—the voice of the Lord is unto all men (I:1)
—there is none to escape (I:1)
—my Preface unto the Book of my commandments (I:2)
—unto the day when the Lord shall come (I:2)

—if this generation do harden their hearts (IV:6)
—I foresee the lying in wait to destroy thee (IV:11)
—to the dividing asunder of both joints and marrow (V:1)
—if you will ask of me (V:2)
—thou knowest that thou hast inquired of me (V:7)
—[Indiscriminate use of second person formal and familiar in addressing Oliver Cowdery] (V:9-11)
—cast your mind upon the night that you cried unto me in your heart (V:11)
—where two or three are gathered together in my name, as touching one thing, they would slay you and bring your soul to destruction (VII:2)
—I would that you [Oliver] should (VIII:1)
—after this manner (VIII:2)
—go on unto the finishing of the remainder of the work (IX:1)
—in my wisdom (IX:10)
—it should be granted unto them according to their faith in their prayers (IX:11)
—Now this is not all, their faith in their prayers were (IX:12)
—according to their faith in their prayers (IX:13)
—whosoever ... endureth of my church to the end (IX:18)
—all things whatsoever you desire of me, which is pertaining unto things of righteousness (X:7)
—I have called him unto mine own purpose, which purpose is known in me (XV:8)
—he shall be blessed unto eternal life, and his name is Joseph (XV:9)
—I speak unto you ... by the way of commandment (XV:10)
—there are others which are called to declare my gospel. ... Yea, even unto twelve (XV:27)
—that they may come unto repentance (XV:48)

Appendix B: Conditional Clauses in the 1830 Edition of the Book of Mormon, the Book of Commandments, and Jeremiah

1. *If* + *O*

1 Nephi
2:24; 4:32, 34, 5:4; 7:13, 15 (3); 13:37; 14:1-2, 5, 30; 15:33 (4); 17:3, 50 (3), 51; 19:6; 22:31

2 Nephi
1:7 (3), 9, 28 (2), 29, 32; 2:11 (2), 13 (6), 22; 4:5, 6; 4:26 (2 protases); 5:32, 33; 6:12, 9:7, 8, 24, 40, 48; 11:7 (2); 18:20; 25:29; 26:30, 31; 28:6, 8, 17; 32:8; 33:10 (2), 11

Jacob
2:14, 30; 5:18, 71; 6:6; 7:9, 12

Enos
1:14

Mosiah
1:14; 2:22 (2), 24, 31, 33, 41; 3:25; 4:10, 12, 24, 25, 30; 7:13, 25, 30, 31; 7:33 (2 protases); 12:12, 26, 29, 33; 13:3 (inverted), 26; 16:6, 7, 11 (2); 17:10; 18:10, 27; 23:8; 26:24, 29; 29:8 (inverted), 9, 23, 28, 29, 30

Alma
2:4; 5:26 (2 protases), 39, 41, 58, 59 (2), 60; 7:14; 9:4 (inverted), 11, 15 (inverted), 18, 24 (inverted), 28 (2); 10:19 (2 protases); 11:2; 12:25, 26, 36; 13:4, 20; 14:20, 24; 15:8; 18:21 (2), 22 (inverted); 19:5; 20:17, 18, 23; 22:3, 6 (2), 18 (2 protases); 24:13; 26:9; 27:7, 8, 10; 30:9 (3), 10 (4), 34, 55; 32:8, 18, 21, 27 (2 protases), 28, 32, 37, 40, 41; 33:2 (2), 13, 14, 21, 22; 34:29, 31; 36:5, 9, 11; 37:5, 13 (2), 22, 37, 45 (inverted), 46 (2); 38:6; 41:4; 42:5, 11, 13, 17 (inverted), 19 (2; 1 inverted), 20, 21, 22, 25; 43:11; 46:21, 22 (2 inverted); 48:25; 49:10; 54:11, 12, 13, 21; 55:32; 56:46 (inverted); 58:35; 60:11, 12, 16 (2 protases), 33, 35; 61:10 (inverted), 11 (inverted), 12 (inverted; 2 protases)

Helaman
2:5; 5:12; 6:27; 8:9; 10:10; 11:14, 16; 13:11, 25, 26, 27 (2 protases); 14:13, 29; 15:11, 17

3 Nephi
3:4, 8 (2), 21 (2); 8:2; 9:14; 10:7; 12:13, 23-24, 40; 13:14, 15, 22, 23 (2); 14:9, 10, 11; 16:15; 18:7, 11, 12, 23, 29, 31; 20:16, 28; 21:12, 22; 26:5 (2); 27:9, 22; 28:30, 33; 29:4

Mormon
6:18; 7:9 (2), 10; 8:17; 9:8, 19, 24, 29, 33

Ether
1:38 (2); 2:15; 3:26; 4:10; 5:5, 6; 8:12 (inverted); 12:12, 27, 30; 13:20; 15:34 (inverted)

Moroni
6:7; 7:6, 8, 11, 19, 33, 35 (2 protases), 37, 42, 44 (3), 46; 8:5, 12, 13; 9:6, 23, 24; 10:20 (2), 22, 23, 24, 25, 32

Doctrine and Covenants 1-20
2:3; 3:4, 9; 4:3; 5:35; 6:5 (2), 8, 11, 13, 14, 22, 24, 29, 30, 31, 33, 34; 7:1 (not in BoC); 7:4; 9:8, 9, 10; 10:16, 31, 49 (inverted), 53, 66; 11:5, 8, 21; 12:5 (2); 14:5, 7, 8, 11; 17:1, 8; 18:5, 8, 15, 16, 19, 25, 28, 46; 19:17

Jeremiah
12:17; 13:17; 15:19; 18:8, 18; 22:5; 26:15; 27:18; 31:36, 37; 38:15, 21; 40:4; 42:5 (inverted), 10; 49:9 (2); 51:8 (inverted)

Totals:

Book of Mormon	324
Doctrine and Covenants 1-20	47
Jeremiah	18

2. *If + Anomalous*

1 Nephi
3:18 (behold); 15:11 (surely)
2 Nephi
1:10 (behold); 4:6 (behold); 15:30 (behold); 17:9 (surely)

Jacob
1:4 (that); 5:19 (that); 6:9 (that); 7:14 (let)

Enos
1:13 (that)

Mosiah
1:13 (that); 2:19 (O how); 2:21 (yet); 2:36 (that); 4:11 (even so; inverted); 4:22 (how); 5:14 (even so; inverted); 16:14 (also); 19:19 (that); 22:4 (even so); 23:36 (that); 29:7 (behold)

Alma
5:28, 38 (behold); 9:18 (that; 3 protases), 24 (that); 10:22 that; if=except); 12:23 (apodosis unmarked in 1981 ed.); 20:19 (that); 22:7 (behold); 24:16 (2; behold); 26:36 (even so); 30:47 (behold); 32:28 (behold; 3 protases); 32:32, 38 (behold); 34:11 (behold), 28 (behold; 3 protases), 35 (behold); 37:15, 16, 40 (behold); 39:6 (behold); 41:3 (that), 6 (even so); 42:28 (behold); 43:10 (that); 44:6 (but; inverted), 7 (behold), 19? (that); 46:5 (that), 27 (and even; inverted); 48:15 (that), 17 (behold); 52:37 (behold); 54:7 (yea; inverted), 22 (behold) 56:47 (that; apodosis unmarked in 1981 ed.); 57:1 (that); 58:36 (behold); 60:27 (behold; 2 protases)

Helaman
7:22 (behold); 9:20 (and also; inverted); 11:16 (and now; inverted); 12:18 (behold)

3 Nephi
4:16 (that; 2 protases); 10:6 (how; inverted); 12:1 (therefore; inverted); 13:30 (even so; inverted); 16:4 (that), 10, 13 (behold); 18:14 (therefore; inverted); 21:6 (that); 27:11 (verily), 16 (behold)

Mormon 9:33
(behold; with unmarked clause)

Ether
2:20 (behold); 8:23 (yea, even; inverted); 9:28 (even; inverted); 12:9 (wherefore; inverted), 35 (that); 14:1 (behold); 15:5 (that)

Moroni
8:23 (behold; inverted); 9:24 (wherefore; inverted); 10:21 (2; neither; inverted)

Doctrine and Covenants
5:5 (verily; inverted), 19 (for; inverted), 22 (behold), 29 (behold; apodosis unmarked in 1981 ed.), 30 (behold), 32 (that); 10:17 (behold; 3 protases), 65 (For behold; inverted); 11:10 (behold; inverted); 18:3 (behold); 19:16 (For behold; inverted)

Jeremiah
26:3 (that)

Totals

Book of Mormon	90
Doctrine and Covenants 1-20	11
Jeremiah	1

3. *If + Then*

1 Nephi
10:21; 16:3

2 Nephi
31:5 (O then)

Jacob
4:9 (O then); 5:64

Mosiah
2:18; 4:21 (O then); 13:9 (and then; inverted); 29:13 (3 protases), 27 (2 apodoses)

Alma
10:23; 12:13 (2 protases); 22:16 (3 protases); 32:17 (2 apodoses); 33:22 (+example without apodosis marker); 34:33; 41:14; 54:18

Helaman
7:8; 8:12; 9:2

3 Nephi
18:30; 20:15-16; 26:9, 10; 27:8 (3), 10

Moroni
6:21; 9:10, 19

Ether
8:10; 12:27

Moroni
7:5, 38, 39; 10:32, 33

Doctrine and Covenants
5:24; 6:27

Jeremiah
4:1 (2 protases); 7:5-7 (2 protases); 12:5 (2 protases), 16; 14:8; 15:2, 19; 17:24-25, 27; 22:4; 23:22; 25:28; 26:4-6; 33:20-21, 25-26; 38:17-18, 25-26; 42:13-16 (2 protases)

Totals

Book of Mormon	39
Doctrine and Covenants 1-20	2
Jeremiah	18

4. *If + And*

1 Nephi
22:17(?) (but see vv. 18, 28)

Alma
11:22 (inverted); 12:14 (inverted), 33; 20:24 (and then; then in 1981 ed.); 27:30 (inverted); 30:43 (and then)

Helaman
10:8, 9 (apodoses unmarked in 1981 ed.); 12:13, 14, 16 (apodoses unmarked in 1981 ed.), 17 (and behold; behold in 1981 ed.), 19 (and behold; behold in 1981 ed.), 20, 21 (apodoses unmarked in 1981 ed.)

3 Nephi
18:34 (inverted); 28:35 (inverted)

Ether
2:12 (inverted); 7:23 (inverted); 10:25 (inverted)

Moroni
7:9 (and likewise; inverted); 10:4 (apodosis unmarked in 1981 ed.), 25 (inverted)

Doctrine and Covenants
5:18 (inverted), 27; 6:25 (inverted); 19:33 (inverted)

Jeremiah
5:1 (2 protases)

Totals

Book of Mormon	23
Doctrine and Covenants 1-20	4
Jeremiah	1

Appendix C: Phrases About the Abominable Church from Revelation, the Book of Mormon, and Doctrine and Covenants

Revelation 17:1:

And there came one of the seven angels which had the seven vials, and talked with me, saying unto me, Come hither; I will shew unto thee the judgment of *the great whore that sitteth upon many waters.* [Note the similar setting with an angel revealing the same information to Nephi.]

Revelation 17:5-6:

And upon her forehead was a name written, MYSTERY, BABYLON THE GREAT, *THE MOTHER OF HARLOTS AND ABOMINATIONS OF THE EARTH.* (6) And I saw the woman drunken with the blood of saints, and with the blood of the martyrs of Jesus: and when I saw her, I wondered with great admiration.

Revelation 17:15:

And he saith unto me, *The waters which thou sawest, where the whore sitteth, are peoples, and multitudes, and nations, and tongues.*

Revelation 17:18:

And *the woman* which thou sawest is that great city, which reigneth over the kings of the earth.

Revelation 18:2-3:

And he [another angel] cried mightily with a strong voice saying, *Babylon the great is fallen, is fallen,* and is become the habitation of devils, and the hold of every foul spirit and a cage of every unclean and hateful bird. (3) For *all nations have drunk of the wine of the wrath of her fornication,* and the kings of the earth have committed fornication with her, and the merchants of the earth are waxed rich through the abundance of her delicacies.

Revelation 18:12-13:

> The merchandise of *gold, and silver, and precious stones, and of pearls, and fine linen, and purple, and silk, and scarlet,* and all fine wood, and all manner vessels of ivory, and all manner vessels of most precious wood, and of brass, and iron, and marble, (13) And cinnamon, and odours, and ointments, and frankincense, and wine, and oil, and fine flour, and wheat, and beasts, and sheep, and horses, and chariots, and slaves and souls of men. [Cf. 1 Ne. 18:25, a description of the abundance of the land of promise.]

Revelation 19:2:

> For true and righteous are his judgments: for he hath judged *the great whore,* which did corrupt the earth with her fornication, and hath avenged the blood of his servants at her hand.

1 Nephi 13:5-6:

> And the angel said unto me: Behold the formation of *a church which is most abominable above all other churches,* which slayeth the saints of God, yea, and tortureth them and bindeth them down, and yoketh them with a yoke of iron, and bringeth them down into captivity. (6) And it came to pass that I beheld this *great and abominable church;* and I saw the devil that he was the founder of it.

1 Nephi 13:8:

> And the angel spake unto me, saying: Behold the *gold, and the silver, and the silks, and the scarlets, and the fine-twined linen,* and the harlots, are the desires of this *great and abominable church.*

1 Nephi 13:26:

> And after they [the prophecies and testimonies of the Bible] go forth by the hand of the twelve apostles of *the Lamb,* from the Jews unto the Gentiles, thou seest the formation of that *great and abominable church,* which is most abominable above all other churches; for behold, they have taken away from the gospel of *the Lamb* many parts which are plain and most precious; and also many covenants of the Lord have they taken away.

1 Nephi 13:28:

> Wherefore, thou seest that after the book hath gone forth through the hands of the *great and abominable church,* that there are many plain and precious things taken away from the book, which is the book of *the Lamb of God.*

1 Nephi 14:3:

> And that *great pit,* which hath been digged for them by that *great and abominable church,* which was founded by the devil and his children, that he might lead away the souls of men down to hell—yea, that *great pit* which hath been digged for the destruction of men shall be filled by those who digged it, unto their utter destruction, said *the Lamb of God;* not the

destruction of the soul, save it be the casting of it into that hell which hath no end.

1 Nephi 14:9:

And it came to pass that he said unto me: Look, and behold that *great and abominable church,* which is *the mother of abominations,* whose founder is the devil.

1 Nephi 14:10-11:

And he said unto me: Behold there are save two churches only; the one is the *church of the Lamb of God,* and the other is the church of the devil; wherefore, whoso belongeth not to *the church of the Lamb of God* belongeth to that great church, which is *the mother of abominations;* and she is *the whore of all the earth.* (11) And it came to pass that I looked and beheld *the whore of all the earth,* and *she sat upon many waters;* and she had dominion over all the earth, among all nations, kindreds, tongues, and people.

1 Nephi 14:12:

And it came to pass that I beheld *the church of the Lamb of God,* and its numbers were few, because of the wickedness and abominations of *the whore who sat upon many waters;* nevertheless, I beheld that the church of *the Lamb,* who were the saints of God, were also upon all the face of the earth; and their dominions upon the face of the earth were small, because of the wickedness of *the great whore* whom I saw.

1 Nephi 14:13:

And it came to pass that I beheld that *the great mother of abominations* did gather together multitudes upon the face of all the earth, among all the nations of the Gentiles, to fight against the *Lamb of God.*

1 Nephi 14:15-16:

And it came to pass that I beheld that the wrath of God was poured out upon that *great and abominable church,* insomuch that there were wars and rumors of wars among all the nations and kindreds of the earth. (16) And as there began to be wars and rumors of wars among all the nations which belonged to *the mother of abominations,* the angel spake unto me, saying: Behold, the wrath of God is upon *the mother of harlots;* and behold, thou seest all these things—

1 Nephi 14:17:

And when the day cometh that the wrath of God is poured out upon *the mother of harlots,* which is the *great and abominable church* of all the earth, whose founder is the devil, then, at that day, the work of the Father shall commence, in preparing the way for the fulfilling of his covenants, which he hath made to his people who are of the house of Israel.

1 Nephi 22:13:

And the blood of that *great and abominable church,* which is *the whore of all*

the earth, shall turn upon their own heads; for they shall war among themselves, and the sword of their own hands shall fall upon their own heads, and they shall be drunken with their own blood.

1 Nephi 22:14:

And every nation which shall war against thee, O house of Israel, shall be turned one against another, and they shall fall into *the pit which they digged to ensnare the people of the Lord.* And all that fight against Zion shall be destroyed, and *that great whore*, who hath perverted the right ways of the Lord, yea, that *great and abominable church*, shall tumble to the dust and *great shall be the fall of it.*

2 Nephi 6:12:

And blessed are the Gentiles, they of whom the prophet has written; for behold, if it so be that they shall repent and fight not against Zion, and do not unite themselves to that *great and abominable church*, they shall be saved; for the Lord God will fulfill his covenants which he has made unto his children; and for this cause the prophet has written things.

2 Nephi 10:16:

Wherefore, he that fighteth against Zion, both Jew and Gentile, both bond and free, both male and female, shall perish; for they are they who are *the whore of all the earth*; for they who are not for me are against me, saith our God.

2 Nephi 28:18:

But behold, that *great and abominable church, the whore of all the earth*, must tumble to the earth, and *great must be the fall thereof.*

Doctrine and Covenants 29:21:

And the *great and abominable church*, which is *the whore of all the earth*, shall be cast down by devouring fire, according as it is spoken by the mouth of Ezekiel the prophet, who spoke of these things, which have not come to pass but surely must, as I live, for abominations shall not reign.

Doctrine and Covenants 88:94:

And another angel shall sound his trump, saying: That *great church, the mother of abominations*, that made *all nations drink of the wine of the wrath of her fornication*, that persecuteth the saints of God, that shed their blood—*she who sitteth upon many waters*, and upon the islands of the sea—behold, she is the tares of the earth; she is bound in bundles; her bands are made strong, no man can loose them; therefore, she is ready to be burned. And he shall sound his trump both long and loud, and all nations shall hear it.

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CHAPTER 10

The Priority of Mosiah: A Prelude to Book of Mormon Exegesis

Brent Lee Metcalfe

[T]he last shall be first, and the first shall be last.

—1 NEPHI 13:42
(Matthew 20:16)

"'Oh, my God!' said Joseph, clinching his hands. 'All is lost! all is lost! What shall I do? I have sinned—it is I who tempted the wrath of God'" (L. Smith 1853, 121). Such was Joseph Smith's anguish when he learned that the text of his recently dictated Book of Lehi, totaling some 116 pages,[1] had been stolen. Book of Mormon students have only recently begun to appreciate the effect this event had on the subsequent development of the Book of Mormon.

The year 1828 was bittersweet for the Smiths. That spring Joseph had begun dictating his native American history, and Emma, his wife of one year, was expecting their first child. By mid-June the twenty-two year old had dictated a sizable portion of the narrative to scribe Martin Harris. Reluctantly acquiescing to Harris's pleas that he show

1. It is not certain the lost manuscript consisted of 116 pages. This figure may have derived from the Printer's Manuscript (*P*) not the actual length of the Book of Lehi. 1 Nephi-Words of Mormon, the replacement text for the Book of Lehi, barely exceeds 116 pages in *P*. (Note the corresponding section in the Original Manuscript [*O*] was almost certainly longer, since a segment of Enos in *O* is numbered page 114 [Skousen 1992b, 22]. Words of Mormon then would have concluded on about page 119 or 120.) Because *O* for Mosiah is not extant it is impossible to know the page it began on and on which page the Book of Lehi ended. But it seems less than coincidental that while preparing *P* for publication, Smith in the 1830 Preface ascribed a length to the lost manuscript ("one hundred and sixteen pages") almost exactly corresponding to the replacement text in *P*.

the document to his skeptical wife and others, Smith obtained divine permission and loaned him the manuscript. Shortly after Harris's departure Emma gave birth to a son who died that day, whom the grieving couple may have named Alvin, after Joseph's deceased older brother.[2] Joseph kept a constant vigil as Emma's health fluctuated for the next two weeks. With Emma's encouragement Joseph then left Harmony, Pennsylvania, for Manchester, New York, to retrieve the manuscript from his scribe.

Lucy Mack Smith, Joseph's mother, described the encounter. "[Harris] entered the house," she recalled. "Mr. Harris pressed his hands upon his temples, and cried out, in a tone of deep anguish, 'Oh, I have lost my soul! I have lost my soul.'" Joseph responded, "'I should have been satisfied with the first answer I received from the Lord; for he told me that it was not safe to let the writing go out of my possession.' He wept and groaned, and walked the floor continually." The entire family was bereft. "[S]obs and groans, and the most bitter lamentations filled the house" (L. Smith 1853, 120-21). Fortunately, Joseph was reassured that the dictation would continue (D&C 3). The plates providentially contained two beginnings (10:38-45), and Smith would not have to replicate the missing document verbatim (vv. 10ff).

These details are familiar to students of the Book of Mormon. Less certain is the section of the Book of Mormon narrative at which Smith resumed dictation. Did he recommence where the Book of Lehi had left off—at Mosiah—then dictate 1 Nephi through Words of Mormon last—which replaced the Book of Lehi? Did he begin with Words of Mormon? Or did he start with 1 Nephi, dictating the document in the same order as in current printed editions of the Book of Mormon? Interpretation of key Book of Mormon passages depends on which view one subscribes to (cf. Welch and Rathbone 1986, 1). It also affects one's understanding of the dictation history and sheds light on Smith's role in the volume's production. Consequently, resolving the order of dictation is an important prelude to any critical Book of Mormon exegesis.

Scholars have posited three principal solutions: the priority of 1 Nephi, the priority of Words of Mormon, or the priority of Mosiah.[3]

1. The Priority of 1 Nephi. This model theorizes that following the

2. There is confusion in the sources over whether the infant was still-born or died shortly after birth. See Bushman 1984, 90-94, 220-21; James 1983, 149-56; Jessee 1984, 7-8; Newell and Avery 1984, 26-28, 314; Smith et al. 1978, 1:18-31; L. Smith 1853, 117-22.

3. The most comprehensive treatments of the dictation sequence are those of Edwin J. Firmage (1992), Jerald and Sandra Tanner (1990), and John W. Welch and Tim Rathbone (1986).

loss of the Book of Lehi, Smith dictated in order the books of 1 Nephi, 2 Nephi, Jacob, Enos, Jarom, Omni, Words of Mormon, Mosiah, Alma, Helaman, 3 Nephi, 4 Nephi, Mormon, Ether, Moroni, and finished with the Title Page. Proponents of this model include Ivan J. Barrett (1973, 86-88), Fawn M. Brodie (1971, 55, 57), Paul R. Cheesman (1973, 51-55), Richard O. Cowan (1984, 31), Francis W. Kirkham (1942, 222-25), and John J. Stewart (1966, 26-27).

The primary support for 1 Nephi priority is based on what I believe is a superficial reading of Doctrine and Covenants (D&C) 10. Verses 38-45 relate that an alternate version of the stolen portion would be found on the "plates of Nephi." Verse 46 describes how the overlapping material on the plates of Nephi relates to Mormon's abridgment. Some writers interpret these verses as a dictation chronology directive (Stewart 1966, 26-27; Brodie 1971, 55, 57; Barrett 1973, 86-88; Cowan 1984, 31), but nothing in D&C 10 calls for such a reading. It merely clarifies how Smith will replace the beginning portion at some point.

Currently the feasibility of 1 Nephi priority is doubtful.[4] To remain a viable solution, 1 Nephi prioritists must provide more convincing data and deal with mounting evidence confirming Mosian priority.

2. *The Priority of Words of Mormon.* This sequence allows for three possibilities in the dictation chronology. It envisions Smith proceeding with Words of Mormon, Mosiah, perhaps 1 Nephi-Omni (the small plates of Nephi), Alma, Helaman, 3 Nephi, possibly 1 Nephi-Omni, 4 Nephi, Mormon, Ether, Moroni, the Title Page, and 1 Nephi-Omni, if not previously dictated. That three variations for 1 Nephi-Omni are possible is apparent in its chief proponent's uncertainty toward the dating of D&C 10 (Reynolds 1884, 361) and his observation that following dictation of Words of Mormon and Mosiah "there is no evidence at the command of the writer by which he can tell whether they at once went to work on the plates of Nephi [1 Ne.-Omni] or left them to a later date" (365). Turn-of-the-century Book of Mormon scholar George Reynolds noted that "[i]t is held by some" that Smith resumed the dictation "at that part known to us as 'The Words of Mormon'" (364). Reynolds did not say who the "some" referred to but was clearly sympathetic to this chronology (365).[5]

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4. Royal Skousen (1992a), a professor of English at Brigham Young University and editor of a forthcoming critical edition of the Book of Mormon, believes that some text-critical data could corroborate 1 Nephi priority.

5. Reynolds has been mistakenly identified as a Mosian prioritist (Welch and Rathbone 1986, 37; Welch 1988, 47 [Welch's assertion here is based on a reference to Reynolds that has nothing to do with a dictation chronology]; FARMS 1987, 1:xi).

In Reynolds's opinion D&C 10:41 implies that Smith retained a segment of the Book of Lehi beginning with a discussion of king Benjamin. Reynolds deduced that since Words of Mormon mentioned Benjamin's rule (1:10ff) Smith must have resumed dictation with "the reign of king Benjamin" (D&C 10:41) in Words of Mormon and Mosiah (1884, 365). Three observations undermine this argument. First, the initial account of Benjamin's inauguration comes prior to Words of Mormon in Omni 1:23-25 (cf. W of M 1:3). Second, the key phrase in D&C 10:41—"down even till you come to the reign of king Benjamin, or"—is absent in Smith's 1830 Book of Mormon Preface and is undoubtedly a later addition (see the Appendix, Example 2). Third, Words of Mormon is the completion of Mormon's writings and an addendum to 1 Nephi-Omni (W of M 1:1-9). Still Reynolds is correct when he claims that Words of Mormon also serves as "a kind of preface to the abridgment made by Mormon" (1884, 364).[6]

3. The Priority of Mosiah. Scholars maintaining Mosian priority, the most widely held solution, ordinarily theorize that Smith resumed with Mosiah followed by Alma, Helaman, 3 Nephi, 4 Nephi, Mormon, Ether, Moroni, Title Page, 1 Nephi, 2 Nephi, Jacob, Enos, Jarom, Omni, and finally Words of Mormon. Advocates for this theory include Hyrum L. Andrus (1966, 124; 1968, 89-90), Edward H. Ashment (in this compilation), Richard L. Bushman (1984, 99, 223n67), Church Educational System curriculum writers (CES 1989, 59), Edwin J. Firmage (1992), Arthur Glen Foster, Jr. (1983, i, 48-53, 83, 205, 244-45, 252-55), the Foundation for Ancient Research and Mormon Studies (FARMS 1987, 1:xi), Kenneth W. Godfrey (1988, 11-12), Dean C. Jessee (1970, 277-78), Stan Larson (1974, 16-20; 1977, 87-88), Dale L. Morgan (Walker 1986, 309-10), Max J. Parkin (1979, 69-70, 76, 84), Jerald and Sandra

6. Some recent studies have implied a text-critical basis for Words of Mormon priority. The FARMS (1987, 1:352) critical text of the Book of Mormon, the source of this interpretation, reconstructs the title in the Printer's (corrected) Manuscript (P^c) as "THE WORDS OF MORMON <CHAPTER I>." Since Mosiah lacked a title in both *P* and presumably *O*, one can surmise that it was transcribed into *P* as "Chapter II" (FARMS 1987, 1:355, 2:356), as an extension of Words of Mormon (see FARMS 1987, 1:355, 2:356; cf. 1:138; Welch and Rathbone 1986, 36), or as some portion of it (Tvedtnes 1991, 201-202).

However, the FARMS reading is only a partial rendition of the original emendations. The chapter designation actually went through two stages. Initially the heading read, "The words of Mormon" with the interlinear insertion "<Chapter 2.d.>." This was then adjusted to "The words of Mormon <Chapter 2.d.><1.>." Far from serving as the first chapter to Mosiah, Words of Mormon may have been mistakenly viewed as a companion to Omni, which is titled in *P*, "The Book of Omni Chapter first." The addition of "<1.>" to Words of Mormon corrected the erroneous "<2.d.>" and separated it from Omni rather than connecting it to Mosiah. As I will discuss below, equivocation on the initial chapter designation of Mosiah is part of a larger textual phenomenon that provides insight into the dictation order.

Tanner (1989; 1990, 32-37), John A. Tvedtnes (1991, 202; 1992, 223),[7] Dan Vogel (1988, 124n37), Wesley P. Walters (1990, 90, 93-94), John W. Welch and Tim Rathbone (1986, 1, 17, 21-22, 26-28, 33-39; 1992a, 212; 1992b, 2-4, 8; see also Welch 1988, 46-47; 1990, 130-31, 134), and Robert John Woodford (1974, 203-204).

A Revision of Mosian Priority

Mosian priority offers the best solution to the dictation question but in several instances for reasons other than those traditionally advanced. My essay thus augments and refines previous Mosian priority studies, while hopefully offering fresh insights into Book of Mormon authorship and historicity.

Before discussing my reasons for Mosian priority, I will consider three arguments for this position which I believe are historically unreliable.[8] Some proponents of Mosian priority have pointed to Book of Mormon scribe Oliver Cowdery's 14 June 1829 letter to Joseph Smith's brother Hyrum as evidence. Supposedly the letter reflects Moroni 8 theology that baptism should be administered only to those of accountable age (Welch and Rathbone 1986, 36 [cf. 26]) and thus implies that Moroni—the last book—was transcribed prior to the end of dictation in early July. Direction of literary dependence is always difficult to establish, but in this case Cowdery clearly depends on a June 1829 revelation published in the 1833 Book of Commandments (BoC) XV:46(//D&C 18:42), not Moroni 8.[9]

Some scholars also believe that Book of Mormon passages men-

7. More precisely, Tvedtnes maintains a maverick—in my judgment ill-conceived (see n6 above and n24 below)—notion that Words of Mormon 1:12-18, which he conjectures is a surviving portion of the Book of Lehi, served as the point at which the dictation resumed (1991, 201-203).

8. A fragment of *O* (thought to have been in Oliver Cowdery's handwriting, covering Mosiah 2:6-7 recto and 2:17-18 verso) surfaced a few years ago which cast doubt on the Mosian theory (see FARMS 1984, 3; 1987, 3:1305). However, this fragment was forged by Mark Hofmann (FARMS 1987, 3:1310; on the Hofmann scandal, see Lindsey 1988; Naifeh and Smith 1988; Sillitoe and Roberts 1988; Turley 1992).

9. The only correlation between Cowdery's letter and the Book of Moroni is thematic. Yet note the relationship between the letter and the Book of Commandments:

Cowdery to Smith	**BoC XV:46**
all men to every	all men
where to repent and ~~not only~~	must repent and
baptised [sic] and not only men	be baptized; and not only men,
but women children which	but women, and children, which
have arrived to the years of	have arriven [sic] to the years of
accountibility [sic]	accountability
(In Woodford 1974, 264, 267.)	(//D&C 18:42.)

tioning three special witnesses support Mosian priority. Tradition holds that "[a]lmost immediately" following Smith's dictation of either Ether 5:2-4 or 2 Nephi 27:12-13, Oliver Cowdery, David Whitmer, and Martin Harris asked to be witnesses (Smith et al. 1978, 1:52[-53]). The various manuscript drafts and initial publication of Smith's history[10] leave a blank spot in the narrative where the later *History of the Church* (Smith et al. 1978, 1:52) includes reference to both passages. Whichever the passage, according to this account the verses would have been dictated toward the end of the project in June 1829 and served as the impetus for calling Cowdery, Whitmer, and Harris.

A later handwritten notation dating from the 1850s in the manuscript history (Book A-1) refers specifically to 2 Nephi 27 (Jessee 1989, 295; Welch and Rathbone 1986, 34), placing dictation of this chapter in June, favoring Mosian priority (see Godfrey 1988, 12; Larson 1977, 88; Welch and Rathbone 1986, 27-28, 33-34). Defending this position Hyrum L. Andrus (1968, 90) has observed that if 2 Nephi 27:12-13 were dictated earlier—for instance, in April 1829—appearance of three witnesses in Ether 5:2-4 two months later would not have been a fresh idea, but, assuming Mosian priority, 2 Nephi would have been dictated only a few weeks after Ether.

Other factors indicate the *History of the Church* account, an after-the-fact creation, is not historically reliable. The idea of three witnesses in either 2 Nephi or Ether was not novel. In March 1829 Smith had already been instructed that three witnesses would be appointed (D&C 5:11-15), and Martin Harris, one of the revelation's addressees, knew of its content before June 1829. It is improbable that either Book of Mormon reference would have provoked the interest in the selection of the three witnesses described in the *History of the Church.*

When and where Smith dictated the narrative mentioning Jerusalem's "walls," which has also been used to support Mosian priority, is more difficult to answer definitively. In 1875 David Whitmer, interviewed for *The Chicago Times,* said: "So illiterate was Joseph at that time [during the dictation] ... that he didn't even know that Jerusalem was a walled city" (7 Aug. 1875). Whitmer reiterated his story a decade later that "[i]n translating the characters Smith, who was illiterate and but little versed in Biblical lore ... did not even know that Jerusalem was a walled city" (*The Chicago Tribune,* 17 Dec. 1885; reprinted in *The Saints' Herald* 33 [2 Jan. 1886]: 13). Again in November 1886, Whitmer related "that Smith was [so] ignorant of the Bible that when translating he first came to where Jerusalem was spoken of as a 'Walled City' he

10. This includes the 1839 draft (Jessee 1989, 235), the manuscript history, Book A-1 (Jessee 1989, 295), and the first publication of this incident in the *Times and Seasons* 3 (1 Sept. 1842): 897.

stopped until they got a Bible & showed him where the fact was recorded—Smith not believing it was a walled city" (in Kimball 1974, 486).[11] If Whitmer personally witnessed the event this would place dictation of 1 Nephi 4:4-5—"they did follow me up until we came without the *walls* of Jerusalem ... [and they hid] without the *walls*"—after Smith's relocation to the Whitmer's Fayette, New York, farm in June 1829, a date suitable for a Mosian priority sequence (Godfrey 1988, 12; Larson 1977, 88).

Emma Smith's reminiscence of what appears to be the same episode complicates this interpretation. Edmond C. Briggs recounted in 1884 how Emma told him in the winter of 1856 of "Joseph's limited education while he was translating the Book of Mormon, and she acted as scribe at the time ... [O]ne time while translating, where it speaks of the walls of Jerusalem, he stopped and said 'Emma, did Jerusalem have walls surrounding it.' When [Emma] informed him it had, he replied, 'O, I thought I was deceived'" (Briggs 1884, 396; cf. Briggs 1916, 454). If Emma were transcribing her husband's dictation when he discovered Jerusalem's walls, the incident would have occurred prior to June 1829.

Whitmer remarked in an interview that Emma came to the Whitmer farm in June 1829 and inscribed a portion of the dictation, at first glance corroborating Mosian priority (*Deseret Evening News*, 25 Mar. 1884, in Porter 1971, 238). But the transcription of 1 Nephi 4:4-5 in *O* seems to be in John Whitmer's handwriting, not Emma's (Jessee 1970, 273). Joseph Knight related that when Smith "Began to translate [the Book of Lehi] he ... had no one to write for him But his wife" (Jessee 1976, 35). However, Knight's reliability ebbs when he next has Cowdery arriving a year too early, prior to completion of the 116 pages (ibid.), though he subsequently specifies the date was "the spring of 1829" (Jessee 1976, 36). Clearly there are enough uncertainties in the story to conclude that Smith's reference to a fortified Jerusalem cannot presently aid in resolving the dictation order.

HISTORICAL EVIDENCE

As we have already seen, those who maintain that Smith resumed work on the Book of Mormon at 1 Nephi have constructed a chronology from the revelation describing how he was to replace the missing manuscript (D&C 10:38-46). However, the introduction to this revelation provides a more promising framework for a dictation chronology. After being chastised by God for lending the Book of Lehi to a "wicked

11. Biblical passages mentioning Jerusalem's walls include: 2 Kgs. 25:10; Neh. 2:13; 4:7; Ps. 51:18; Jer. 39:8; 52:14.

man" (v. 1), Smith is told to use the "gift" the Lord has returned to him to "continue unto the finishing of the remainder of the work of translation *as you have begun*" (vv. 2-3, emphasis added). This implies that he should continue in the order he was already following, from Mosiah on, with the replacement text dictated last (vv. 38-45).

Most scholars date this revelation to May 1829 (the date given in BoC IX), though some have suggested the summer of 1828. LDS educator Max H. Parkin theorizes that the phrase "as you have begun" (D&C 10:3) points to a May 1829 setting since it "appears to say that the Prophet and his scribe had returned to translating and had progressed before receiving Section 10" (1979, 76), not yet knowing how the lost text would be replaced.

That Smith began with Mosiah also seems confirmed by reports of his and Oliver Cowdery's 15 May 1829 baptisms. The stimulus for baptizing each other, according to Smith, was information "found mentioned in the translation of the plates" (Smith et al. 1978, 1:39).[12] Cowdery corroborates Smith's story, noting that they performed the baptisms "[a]fter writing the account given of the Savior's ministry to the remnant of the seed of Jacob, upon this continent" (*Messenger and Advocate* 1 [Oct. 1834]: 15). Cowdery writes that he and Smith were inspired by "the directions given to the Nephites, from the mouth of the Savior, of the precise manner in which men should build up his church" (ibid.). This means the narrative of Christ's visitation in 3 Nephi was dictated before 15 May 1829.

If Smith began at 1 Nephi, he would have dictated an average of 13 printed pages per day (based on the 1830 edition) between 7 April and 15 May to have arrived at the end of 3 Nephi. This would have left only slightly more than 1.5 pages a day to be dictated to complete 4 Nephi through Moroni by 1 July. Smith's dramatically decreased output is difficult to account for in this scenario.

The Mosian model more reasonably accounts for an average number of pages transcribed per day.[13] From 7 April to 15 May Smith's dictation of Mosiah-3 Nephi would have averaged 9.25 pub-

12. Lucy Smith confirmed that instructions to baptize came while dictating the Book of Mormon but, differing from her son, noted that Joseph alone received the directive rather than he and Oliver jointly (L. Smith 1853, 131; cf. Smith et al. 1978, 1:39; JS-H 1:68ff). David Whitmer stated that Smith and Cowdery baptized each other because "they were commanded so todo [sic] by revealment through Joseph" (Gurley 1885, reverse of p. 2). Smith informed Cowdery by revelation in June 1829 "as thou [Cowdery] hast been baptized by the hands of my servant Joseph Smith, Jun., according to that which I have commanded *him*, he hath fulfilled the thing which I commanded *him*" (D&C 18:7; emphasis added).

13. Welch and Rathbone persuasively argue this point (1992, 2-3; see esp. their graphic [8]).

lished pages per day. From 16 May to 1 July he dictated almost 5 pages per day for 4 Nephi-Moroni and 1 Nephi-Words of Mormon. If most of Mosiah had been transcribed prior to Cowdery's arrival, the numbers would be closer still.

Evidence concerning Smith's dictation of the Title Page also points to the priority of Mosiah. Before he completed dictation, Smith secured copyright for the Book of Mormon. Authors applying for copyright in New York state were requested to include the title of their work. Bearing the date 11 June 1829, the Book of Mormon copyright application includes the entire Title Page, which Smith said "is a literal translation, *taken from the very last leaf*, on the left hand side of the collection or book of plates" (Smith et al. 1978, 1:71; emphasis added). According to Smith, the Title Page was at the end of the record not the beginning, yet both Mormon and non-Mormon sources indicate the dictation was still underway after its transcription. Smith's *History of the Church* states that the dictation was only "drawing to a close," not finished, when he secured the copyright (ibid.). A local journalist printed the Title Page on 26 June 1829 adding that the remainder "will be published *as soon as the translation is completed*" (*Wayne Sentinel*, 26 June 1829; emphasis added). Although he may have produced it out of sequence, Smith more likely dictated the Title Page after he reached the end of the book proper (probably Ether) but prior to dictating the replacement text and possibly Moroni. This would have occurred in late May 1829, making the Title Page readily accessible by 11 June.

No less significant is that while the Title Page details the content of Mormon's abridgment and of Ether, it omits allusion to the Book of Moroni or to the alternate beginning from the small plates. Such an omission suggests that the Title Page may have been dictated before Smith fully conceived the solution of substituting the unabridged 1 Nephi-Omni narrative (including Words of Mormon) for the missing Book of Lehi.[14]

HOLOGRAPHIC EVIDENCE

When Dean C. Jessee suggested that portions of *O* for 1 Nephi are in John Whitmer's handwriting, Mosian prioritists embraced his observation as additional support (Jessee 1970, 273, 276-78; see Bush-

14. Smith seems to have initially resolved to replace the Book of Lehi with an alternate beginning from a single record called "the plates of Nephi" (Title Page; D&C 10:38-45). While dictating 1 Nephi chapters 6 and 9, Smith introduced two sets of "plates of Nephi"—the "small plates" or "plates of Jacob" (Jacob 1:1ff; 3:14), which contained 1 Nephi-Omni; and the "larger plates" (3:13) which presumably contained the Book of Lehi, the history comprising Mormon's abridgment (cf., Tanner and Tanner 1990, 37-47).

man 1984, 223n67; CES 1989, 58; Firmage 1992; Parkin 1979, 70; Tanner and Tanner 1990, 34). Smith's official history notes that in early June 1829, he and Oliver Cowdery relocated to the Peter C. Whitmer farm and that John Whitmer "assisted us very much in writing during the remainder of the work" (Smith et al. 1978, 1:49). If Whitmer's handwriting is on *O* for 1 Nephi, it confirms that this part of the Book of Mormon was not dictated until the final stage of the project, sometime in June 1829. However, such a conclusion should be made cautiously, since Jessee admits his identification of Whitmer's handwriting is tentative.[15]

More persuasive holographic evidence that Smith resumed dictating at Mosiah can be deduced from a revelation Smith issued in March, the month before Cowdery began serving as scribe (now D&C 5). Before Cowdery arrived, Smith's wife, Emma, and his younger brother Samuel had been transcribing (Faulring 1989, 3; Jessee 1984, 8). The March revelation instructed Smith to dictate a "few more pages" and then stop "for a season" (D&C 5:30; note esp. the emphasis "a few *more* pages").[16] This implies that Emma and Samuel or others transcribed some pages before and after the date of this revelation. We would expect then to find multiple leaves containing their handwriting before Cowdery's handwriting first appears in the manuscript.

The first leaf of *O* (pp. 1 and 2) is missing, but the second (pp. 3 and 4 covering 1 Ne. 2:2-2:23 recto and 2:23-3:18 verso) is principally in Cowdery's hand (Jessee 1970, 273, 276-78; cf. Bushman 1984, 223n67).[17] If Smith had recommenced dictation at 1 Nephi, Emma and Samuel would have transcribed at most one leaf prior to Cowdery. Writing so little cannot account for their work as described in D&C 5, which assumes multiple pages before Cowdery's involvement. The presence of Cowdery's handwriting on the second leaf of *O* militates against 1 Nephi priority in favor of Mosian priority.

TEXTUAL EVIDENCE

Textual criticism is another avenue for exploring the priority ques-

15. My own analysis of the handwriting confirms that a number of letters are similar to Whitmer's style on other early documents while other letters are different.

16. In order to deemphasize the number of Book of Mormon pages dictated prior to Cowdery, Welch and Rathbone (1986, 39) neglect this important nuance, misquoting the passage as a "few pages" and omitting the word "more."

17. Welch and Rathbone (1986, 35) claim that the "handwriting on the Original Manuscript for 1 Nephi is neither Oliver Cowdery's nor Emma Smith's." Jessee has identified a significant quantity of 1 Nephi in *O* as Cowdery holographs (1970, 273; cf. Welch 1988, 46).

tion. Regrettably at every crucial juncture in the text that would bear on the dictation sequence the relevant portions of *O* are not extant—including the final verses of Ether, the first leaf of 1 Nephi, and the full text of Words of Mormon, Mosiah, and Moroni. Still, textual anomalies in *P* may offer a clue as to the dictation sequence for *O*.

Of specific interest are inconsistencies in the numbering of chapter headings for Mosiah in *P*. The Book of Mosiah initially lacked a title in *P*, beginning simply with "Chapter II" (see Illustration 1). Sometime prior to completion of this chapter and start of the next, the heading was emended in pen to "<the Book of Mosiah> Chapter <I> ~~II~~." The change was made before transcription of the next chapter, since it bears the title "Chapter II." From this chapter through "Chapter VII" the numbers are consecutive. But when the next chapter was transcribed, the scribe wrote "Chapter IX" instead of "Chapter VIII." From this point to the end of Mosiah, the chapters consistently remain one number ahead. Prior to publication these chapter divisions were emended in pencil. Roman numeral "IX" was replaced with the Arabic "8." To correct the next chapter the scribe began to cross out the "X" but instead inserted "I" to make the Roman numeral nine.[18] The "I" in "XI" was first deleted in ink then pencil to form chapter ten. "Chapter XII" became chapter eleven by striking out the last "I." "Chapter 13" was overlooked with no emendation. Finally, an Arabic numeral "3" superscription corrected the off-sequence "14" (see Illustration 1).[19]

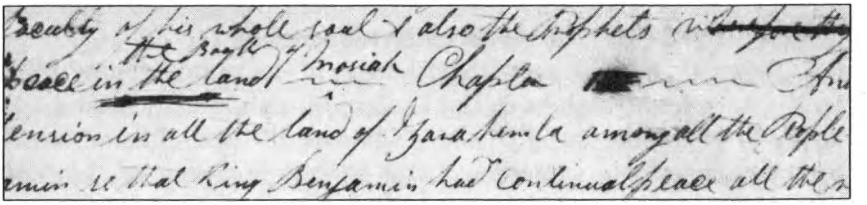
These inconsistencies provide a clue to the missing Mosiah portion of *O* and the original dictation sequence. In my view chapter one of the present Book of Mosiah was the terminus of the Book of Lehi.[20] When Smith loaned the Book of Lehi to Harris, he retained a portion which at a minimum included "Chapter II" (Bushman 1984, 223n67; Welch and Rathbone 1986, 22; cf. D&C 10:41). In support of this, I point to the fact that the portion of *O* being transcribed into *P* evidently omitted a title. The scribe corrected the anomaly by appending "<the Book of Mosiah>"—notably minus a synopsis—and revising the designation to "Chapter <I> ~~II~~." This renumbering was carefully followed until chap-

18. In its critical apparatus FARMS (1987, 2:448, 470) wrongly displays this and the succeeding heading in *P* as "CHAPTER IX" and "CHAPTER X" respectively, remaining unchanged in P^c.

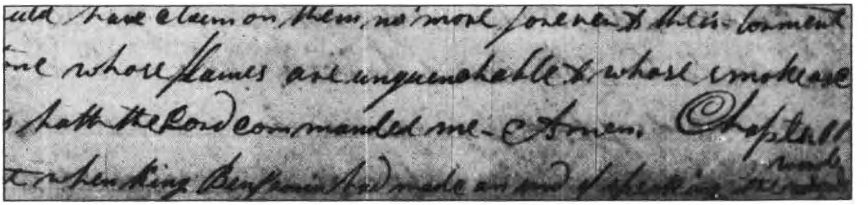
19. The lemma system in the FARMS (1987, 2:506) apparatus renders the relationship of the "<3>" to the "14" unintelligible.

20. The *Book of Lehi*, I suspect, was the initial title of the project which may likely have been an anthology of smaller books similar to the present Book of Mormon. One of these shorter works would have been chapter 1 of what is now Mosiah, though it may have originally had a different title.

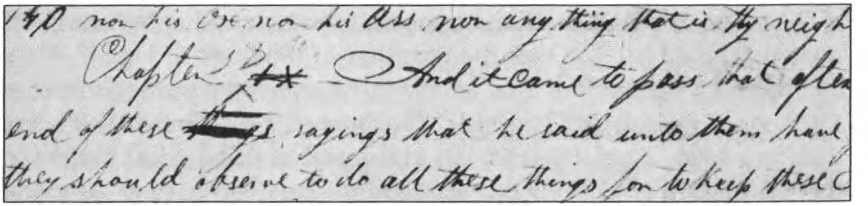
Illustration 1a.



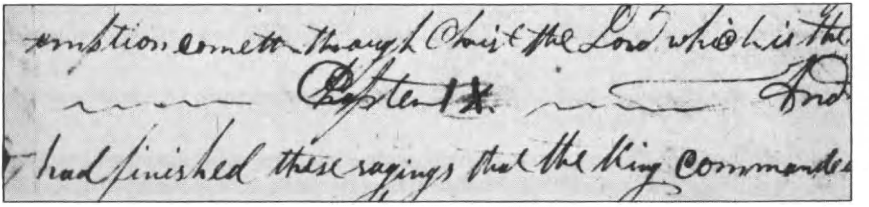
"<the Book of Mosiah> Chapter <I> H"



"Chapter II"

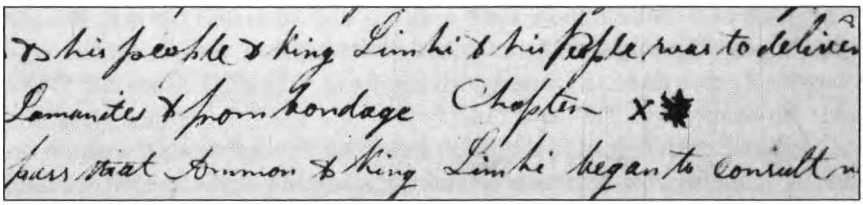


"Chapter <8th> IX"

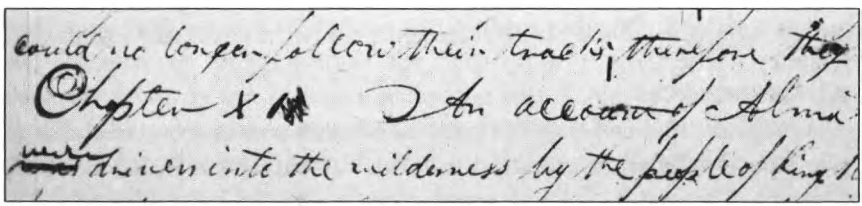


"Chapter <I>X"

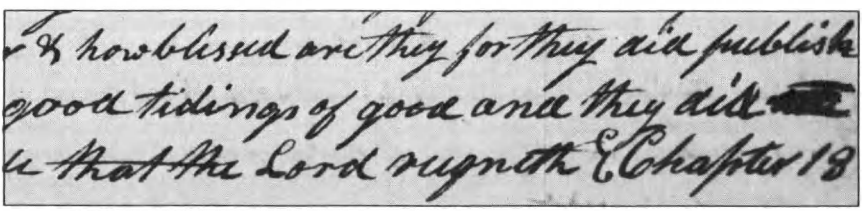
Illustration 1b.



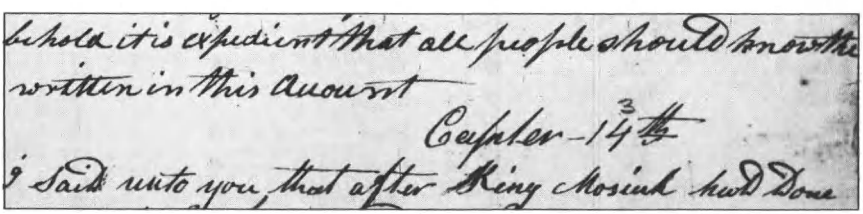
"Chapter XI"



"Chapter XII"



"Chapter 13"



"Capter-14<3>th"

ter eight. Then the numbers are again off through chapter twelve. This recurring pattern of misnumbering chapters is understandable if the scribe forgot about the change and simply began transferring the chapter numbers from *O* into *P*. Then a different scribe, oblivious to the numerical discrepancy, picked up the transcription part way through chapter twelve and continued copying from *O* the divisions for the final two chapters as "13" and "14."

When Smith resumed dictation in Mosiah he followed the same order he had previously observed, perhaps hoping that chapter one and the rest of the Book of Lehi would be recovered. Had he recommenced at 1 Nephi, with the likelihood of recovering the lost 116 pages increasingly remote, he would have undoubtedly corrected the numerical anomaly when he reached Mosiah in a way similar to the scribe in *P*. In other words the anomalous shift in numerical divisions in *P* is most easily understandable if Smith resumed production of *O* at Mosiah.

STYLISTIC EVIDENCE

Unique evidence for the priority of Mosiah comes from analysis of style, specifically from attention to lexical distributions in the Book of Mormon. Computer-assisted word counts—not to be confused with statistical "wordprints"—can illustrate fluctuations in an author's style. In his commentary on the plates of Jacob, Mosian prioritist Arthur Glen Foster, Jr., has provided one example of how such evidence can be used (1983, 83; cf. Tanner and Tanner 1990, 36). He investigated the frequency of the potentially interchangeable terms "whosoever" and "whoso." In the following tables the frequency of the terms are presented, assuming first the priority of 1 Nephi and second the priority of Mosiah (see Fig. 1).

Figure 1.

The Priority of 1 Nephi			*The Priority of Mosiah*		
	"whosoever"	"whoso"		"whosoever"	"whoso"
1 Ne.	0	5	Mosiah	20	0
2 Ne.	0	3	Alma	34	0
Jacob	0	1	Hel.	9	1
Mosiah	20	0	3 Ne.	15	17
Alma	34	0	Morm.	1	3
Hel.	9	1	Ether	0	11
3 Ne.	15	17	Moro.	0	2
Morm.	1	3	1 Ne.	0	5
Ether	0	11	2 Ne.	0	3
Moro.	0	2	Jacob	0	1

If the books are ordered as they appear in the Book of Mormon, no meaningful distribution of the two words is evident. A clear trend emerges, however, when one reorders the books to begin with Mosiah. On the basis of this pattern, Foster concluded that Smith favored "whosoever" in the early stage of dictation and then substituted "whoso" mid-way through the project in Helaman, 3 Nephi, and Mormon.[21]

Frequency and use of the terms "therefore" and "wherefore" in the Book of Mormon provide another useful example of this pattern. Not only does the pattern of usage of these terms confirm Mosian priority, it aids in dating the chronology of Book of Mormon dictation and understanding Smith's dictation procedure.

A computer-generated word count displays 668 usages of "therefore" (1,236 in the KJV) and 420 of "wherefore" in the 1830 Book of Mormon (347 in the KJV; Hilton and Jenkins n.d.a, 67, 73). No clear linear pattern of development for "therefore"/"wherefore" emerges when the words are ordered according to a 1 Nephi chronology. Instead, what emerges is an enveloping pattern (see Table 1). Here sizeable blocks of narrative dominated by "wherefore" envelop a central portion favoring "therefore."

To illustrate the difference between this enveloping pattern and a linear one, Table 1 also includes these terms as they occur in the reve-

21. Admittedly, Foster did not anticipate some of the complexities of lexical distribution. An author may favor a term such as "whoso," abandon it for a time in favor of a variant, in this case "whosoever," and then return to the former, in this case "whoso." Revelations in the D&C dating from the Book of Mormon dictation period might have been a useful control, but occurrences of "whosoever" and "whoso" here are too sporadic to be helpful.

Textual criticism and literary dependence should have been considered. For example, two instances of "whoso" in Ether 10:6 were originally "whosoever" in *P*, then emended thus "whosoever" in P^c. (FARMS 1987, 3:1221 inaccurately identifies the third "whoso" in Ether 10:6 as "whosoever" in *P*; however, "whoso" appears in *P* without emendation.) Nine out of 17 occurrences of "whosoever" in 3 Nephi were copied from KJV Matthew 5 (on this generally, see the Appendix).

In another instance, Foster suggests that Smith initially favored "often" then replaced it with "oft" (1983, 112). But too much may be seen here—"often" and "oft" appear infrequently and inconsistently:

	"often"	"oft"
Mosiah	2	0
Alma	0	1
Hel.	0	1
3 Ne.	1	8
4 Ne.	0	1
Moro.	0	3
1 Ne.	0	2
Enos	1	0

lations Smith issued during the period he was working on the Book of Mormon. His usage of the terms in these revelations demonstrates a linear pattern.

Table 1: 1 Nephi Priority

	"Therefore"	"Wherefore"	D&C	"Therefore"	"Wherefore"
1 Ne.	13	98	Sec. 3	2	0
2 Ne.	28	138	Sec. 4	2	0
Jacob	1	52	Sec. 5	0	0
Enos	0	6	Sec. 6	8	0
Jarom	0	3	Sec. 7	1	0
Omni	0	6	Sec. 8	4	0
W of M	0	4	Sec. 9	2	0
Mosiah	123	1	Sec. 10	11	0
Alma	286	3	Sec. 11	4	0
Hel.	63	0	Sec. 12	4	0
3 Ne.	98	3	Sec. 14	3	1
4 Ne.	5	0	Sec. 15	0	0
Morm.	22	0	Sec. 16	0	0
Ether	24	63	Sec. 17	0	1
Moro.	0	38	Sec. 18	0	12
Title Page	0	2	Sec. 19	1	7

Table 2: Mosian Priority

	"Therefore"	"Wherefore"	D&C	"Therefore"	"Wherefore"
Mosiah	123	1	Sec. 3	2	0
Alma	286	3	Sec. 4	2	0
Hel.	63	0	Sec. 5	0	0
3 Ne.	98	3	Sec. 6	8	0
4 Ne.	5	0	Sec. 7	1	0
Morm.	22	0	Sec. 8	4	0
Ether	24	63	Sec. 9	2	0
Title Page	0	2	Sec. 10	11	0
Moro.	0	38	Sec. 11	4	0
1 Ne.	13	98	Sec. 12	4	0
2 Ne.	28	138	Sec. 14	3	1
Jacob	1	52	Sec. 15	0	0
Enos	0	6	Sec. 16	0	0
Jarom	0	3	Sec. 17	0	1
Omni	0	6	Sec. 18	0	12
W of M	0	4	Sec. 19	1	7

When the books comprising the Book of Mormon are arranged beginning with Mosiah, the lexical enveloping vanishes and a linear pattern emerges. This parallels the word usage in the D&C for the same period (see Table 2). The patterning of "therefore" and "wherefore" in the revelations allows us to link Book of Mormon lexical patterns to a dated chronology. The parallel between the revelations and the Mosian priority sequence leads to the conclusion that Smith returned to his dictation at Mosiah.

Because of potential complications resulting from literary dependence and textual variants, refining the parallels between the revelations and books in the Book of Mormon permits us to date the stages of dictation more precisely. Occurrences of "therefore" and "wherefore" in Book of Mormon passages deriving from the King James Version of the Bible (KJV) elucidate the interplay between narrative created by Smith and narrative dependent on external sources (see the Appendix). For instance, Smith tends to retain, delete, but not alter the term "therefore" or "wherefore" in a biblical source he is copying, even if the term is not the one routinely employed by him at that stage of the dictation. But Smith tends to favor the term dominant in his vocabulary ("therefore" or "wherefore") when embellishing a biblical source, even when the term is not the one routinely used in the source. This phenomenon occurs in the Book of Mormon, D&C, and the Joseph Smith Revision of the Bible (JSR). When Smith is indebted to an external source for occurrences of "therefore" and "wherefore," such as KJV quotations or D&C sections dependent on earlier revelations, I have removed them from Table 3. The Mosian priority chronology can be further refined by both deleting and adding occurrences of "therefore" and "wherefore" according to *O* where extant or to *P*, as well as to the earliest extant versions of the revelations.[22] With these refinements, we can plausibly date the various seg-

22. Because of literary dependence nine occurrences of "therefore" in D&C sections 11, 12, and 14 are discarded (see the Appendix, Example 1). Similarly, "therefore" in the 1830 Book of Mormon Preface is dropped because it quotes D&C 10:41 (see the Appendix, Example 2). Instances of "therefore" and "wherefore" deleted from the Book of Mormon segment all originate in the KJV. One "therefore" and the solitary "wherefore" are dropped in Mosiah ("therefore" = Isa. 53:12//Mosiah 14:12; "wherefore" = Ex. 20:11//Mosiah 13:19). Also removed are twelve occurrences of "therefore" and two of "wherefore" in 3 Nephi ("therefore" = Matt. 5:23//3 Ne. 12:23; 6:2//13:2; 6:8//13:8; 6:9//13:9; 6:22//13:22; 6:23//13:23; 6:25//13:25; 6:31//13:31; 6:34//13:34; 7:12//14:12; 7:24//14:24; Mal. 3:6//24:6; "wherefore" = Matt. 6:30//3 Ne. 13:30; 7:20//14:20). "Therefore" is subtracted from 2 Nephi twenty-three times, "wherefore" only three ("therefore" = Isa. 50:7//2 Ne. 7:7 [twice]; 51:11//8:11; 51:21//8:21; 2:6//12:6; 2:9//12:9; 3:17//13:17; 5:13//15:13; 5:14//14:14; 5:24//15:24; 5:25//15:25; 7:14//17:14; 8:7//18:7; 9:11//19:11; 9:14//19:14; 9:17//19:17; 10:16//20:16; 10:24//20:24; 12:3//22:3; 13:7//23:7; 13:13//23:13; 29:14//27:26; 29:22//27:33; "wherefore" = Isa. 50:2//2 Ne. 7:2; 5:4//15:4; 10:12//20:12).

Restored to the Book of Mormon portion are five instances of "wherefore" initially

ments of the Book of Mormon dictation (see Table 3).

Revelations written prior to June 1829 use "therefore" exclusively 29 times. From Mosiah through Ether and the Title Page "therefore" occurs 612 times and "wherefore" 69 times—63 of these in Ether. The Jaredite story, dictated in late May 1829, forms the transitional point. Ether contains more occurrences of "therefore" than all the books dictated after it by a ratio of 25 to 19, and more usages of "wherefore" than Mosiah to Mormon by a ratio of 63 to 4. Viewing each chapter sequentially the shift in Ether from "therefore" to "wherefore" is striking. Ether 1-5 has "therefore" 15 times and "wherefore" 8 times. "Therefore" is used 8 times in Ether 6-10, "wherefore" increasing to 23 times. In the final third, Ether 11-15, "therefore" diminishes to 2 occurrences while "wherefore" appears 32 times. In the revelations after May 1829 "wherefore" appears exclusively 23 times. In the replacement text including Moroni, the three witnesses' testimony, and the 1830 Book of Mormon Preface "wherefore" is used 350 times and "therefore" only 19 times (see Table 3).

Smith's gradual transition from "therefore" to "wherefore" suggests an additional insight into the dictation process. This evidence leaves no doubt that Smith assimilated portions of the KJV into the Book of Mormon (see the Appendix, Examples 3 and 4).[23] Weighing the Book of Mormon's indebtedness to the KJV indicates that Smith probably did not substantially depend on other nineteenth-century literary sources. If Smith copied from other literature one might anticipate detectable interruptions in the "therefore"/"wherefore" pattern, similar to those caused by the KJV. But this does not occur. Aside from selections borrowed from the KJV the development is relatively consis-

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found in 1 Nephi 11:1; 13:34; 19:23; 2 Nephi 6:11; and 9:28. (I have retained "wherefore" from P^c 2 Nephi 6:14 even though it replaced "which" in *P* because it occurred prior to the 1830 publication.) Also added are three occurrences of "therefore" deleted from Alma 42:6, 9; and Ether 3:1. D&C 7 is removed since its single use of "therefore" was tacked on for publication in 1835. Sections 8, 10, and 19 each have an instance of "therefore" subtracted which are also 1835 additions. Sections 18 and 19 each have one "wherefore" restored, deleted for the 1835 printing of the D&C. (I may have overlooked some emendations due to manually locating these textual variants.) Lacking both words, sections 5, 15, and 16 are removed. D&C 1 and the texts of sections 2 and 13 do not date to this early period and are omitted from all Tables.

23. Traditionalists have accounted for extensive KJV quotations by suggesting that "the Lord himself ... chose to quote from the King James Version when it agreed with the Book of Mormon" (Skousen 1990, 55); "that God projected a text similar to the biblical text through Joseph Smith, or the power of God brought that text especially to his memory as those words were appropriate and helpful" (Welch 1990, 136). It seems curious that God would perpetuate KJV mistranslations by delivering to Smith the KJV, errors-and-all (see Larson, and Wright, in this compilation), or that God would depend on the secondary KJV so literally, replicating the very words ("therefore" or "wherefore") favored by its human translators.

Table 3: Mosian Priority (revised)

	"Therefore"	"Wherefore"	D&C	"Therefore"	"Wherefore"
1. July 1828-May1829; Harmony, Pennsylvania					
Mosiah	122	0	Sec. 3	2	0
Alma	289	3	Sec. 4	2	0
Hel.	63	0	Sec. 6	8	0
3 Ne.	86	1	Sec. 8	3	0
4 Ne.	5	0	Sec. 9	2	0
Morm.	22	0	Sec. 10	10	0
Ether	25	63	Sec. 11	1	0
Title Page	0	2	Sec. 12	1	0
Total	**612**	**69**	**Total**	**29**	**0**
2. June-July 1829; Fayette, New York					
Moro.	0	38			
1 Ne.	13	101			
2 Ne.	5	137	Sec. 14	0	1
Jacob	1	52	Sec. 17	0	1
Enos	0	6	Sec. 18	0	13
Jarom	0	3			
Omni	0	6			
W of M	0	4			
3. August 1829-March 1830					
Three Witnesses' Testimony 1830 Ed.	0	2			
Preface	0	1	Sec. 19	0	8
Total	**19**	**350**	**Total**	**0**	**23**

tent throughout the Book of Mormon. With this concession I am not implying that Smith was not indebted to broader cultural sources such as anti-Masonic rhetoric, autobiographical reflections, revival terminology, Amerindian etiologies, or other contemporary themes. As some of the essays in this anthology and elsewhere have posited, antebellum antecedents likely inspired similar ideas in the Book of Mormon (see Charles, Thomas, and Vogel, in this compilation). When assimilating these nineteenth-century views into the Nephite narrative, Smith at most would have paraphrased them peppered with his own noncontextual words.

These findings establish a dictation chronology and suggest the

presence of a single author. At least one Book of Mormon apologist, John A. Tvedtnes, has responded by theorizing that the shift from "therefore" to "wherefore" can be linked to the shift in the Book of Mormon between Mormon's style and that of other Book of Mormon contributors. According to Tvedtnes, perhaps "'therefore' is peculiar to Mormon ... [while] 'wherefore' in Moroni's work could be evidence of different authorship for Ether and Moroni, and ... for the small plates" (1991, 213).[24]

However, samples of Mormon's editorial interludes compared with other texts bearing his authorship (see Hilton and Jenkins n.d.b; Rencher 1986) render it implausible that he and other Book of Mormon characters could have been responsible for the "therefore" to "wherefore" conversion. Moroni recorded three epistles authored by his father, Mormon, one presumably prior to Mormon's redaction and two just before he relinquished the plates to his son. A disjointed pattern in word usage emerges when these Mormon-authored texts are placed in the order of their supposed writing (see Fig. 2).

When these Mormon-authored texts are ordered according to the 1 Nephi priority sequence, the familiar enveloping pattern appears (see Fig. 3).

Not surprisingly, when these Mormon-authored texts are ordered according to Mosian priority, they exhibit the linear transition from "therefore" to "wherefore" we have already encountered in the D&C and in the Book of Mormon as a whole (see Fig. 4).

As Figures 2-4 demonstrate, attributing this "therefore"-to-"wherefore" shift to ancient Book of Mormon authors is untenable. Smith remains the most probable source for this lexical distribution.

Narrative Continuity and the Dictation Sequence

From the Lehites' harrowing escape from Jerusalem to Moroni's valedictory, the Nephite storyline is relatively fluid but not without exception. Occasionally the middle section of the book (Mosiah and Alma) displays concepts which are less well developed than in the initial section (1 Nephi-Omni). These earlier portions are more congruent with later sections. It is difficult to explain the more primitive elements in Mosiah and Alma unless one assumess that Mosiah was the first in-

24. This contradicts Tvedtnes's own speculation that Words of Mormon 1:12-18 form part of the large plates (1991, 201-203). Words of Mormon 1:18 begins, "*Wherefore,* with the help of these ..." not with what Tvedtnes suspects would be Mormon's peculiar use of "therefore." Moreover, the four occurrences of "wherefore" in Words of Mormon—including 1:18—contrast the exclusive 122 usages of "therefore" in Mosiah (see Table 3). It is thus improbable that "wherefore" in Words of Mormon 1:18 was dictated prior to Mosiah.

Figure 2.

Texts Authored by Mormon: Ancient Chronology		
	"Therefore"	"Wherefore"
Moro. 7:2-48	0	21
Mosiah 1:15-2:9	3	0
Alma 1:1-12	3	0
Hel. 1:1-2:8	15	0
3 Ne. 1:15-3:1	4	0
4 Ne.	5	0
Moro. 8:2-30	0	9
Morm. 1-5	15	0
Moro. 9	0	2
Morm. 6-7	3	0
W of M	0	4

Figure 3.

Texts Authored by Mormon: 1 Nephi Priority		
	"Therefore"	"Wherefore"
W of M	0	4
Mosiah 1:15-2:9	3	0
Alama 1:1-12	3	0
Hel. 1:1-2:8	15	0
3 Ne. 1:15-3:1	4	0
4 Ne.	5	0
Morm. 1-7	18	0
Moro. 7:2-48	0	21
Moro. 8:2-30	0	9
Moro. 9	0	2

Figure 4.

Texts Authored by Mormon: Mosian Priority		
	"Therefore"	"Wherefore"
Mosiah 1:15-2:9	3	0
Alma 1:1-12	3	0
Hel. 1:1-2:8	15	0
3 Ne. 1:15-3:1	4	0
4 Ne.	5	0
Morm. 1-7	18	0
Moro. 7:2-48	0	21
Moro. 8:2-30	0	9
Moro. 9	0	2
W of M	0	4

stallment in the Book of Mormon narrative. We find in the narrative the same enveloping or linear pattern—depending on dictation chronology—we discovered in word usage.

JESUS' BIRTH DATE

Enveloping is particularly evident in discussion of the advent of Jesus. For example, early in the narrative Nephi relates that Lehi (1 Ne. 10:4), an angel (19:8), and "the prophets" (2 Ne. 25:19) had all predicted that Jesus would be born 600 years from the time Lehi left Jerusalem. However, subsequent Book of Mormon prophets seem unaware of these extraordinary oracles.

At a Nephite revival king Benjamin comments that "the time cometh, and is not far distant ... [that the Lord] shall come down from heaven ... and shall dwell in a tabernacle of clay" (Mosiah 3:5). This comment is surprising since the scriptures he possessed presumably told him this would not occur for over 120 years. Alma speaks of Jesus' advent in similarly general terms: "the kingdom of heaven is soon at hand" (Alma 5:28, 50); "the time is not far distant" (7:7); "not many days hence" (9:26); and "the day of salvation draweth nigh" (13:21).[25] Alma sincerely hopes "that it might be in [his] day" (v. 25). His reticence or inability to disclose Jesus' birth date is explicable in his admission, "we *know not how soon*" (ibid.; emphasis added). Thus Alma, Benjamin, and their audiences did not know what Lehi, Nephi, an angel, anonymous Old World prophets, and their sacred literature had known with certainty: that Jesus would be born 600 years after the Lehites departed for the Americas.

When Samuel the Lamanite subsequently enters the scene, in contrast to Benjamin's and Alma's imprecision, he boldly specifies "for five years more cometh ... then cometh the Son of God" (Hel. 14:2). Absent is any indication that Samuel merely echoes the inspired utterances of his forebears, Lehi and Nephi, or other prophets, including an angel. This particular point is paramount, for the potency of Samuel's oracle lies in its absolute uniqueness. If Samuel's prophecy is simply a repetition of earlier prophecies, it could scarcely be used to authenticate his prophetic calling (16:4-5). When Samuel's followers are sentenced to death prior to Jesus' advent, it is because *his* prophecy did not appear to be true, excluding any mention of Lehi or Nephi (3 Ne. 1:5).

The enveloping is obvious: Lehi and Nephi explicitly preach the date of Jesus' birth; Benjamin and Alma speak only in generalities;

25. Ostensibly writing after the fact, Mormon also shares this ambiguity, describing Alma's contemporaries as "[h]olding forth things which must shortly come" (16:19).

Samuel, like Nephi, is explicit. But when we analyze the passages in the order they were dictated, the enveloping pattern is replaced with a linear pattern. Prophets in the earliest part of the dictation lack specific knowledge of Jesus' birth date. However, with Samuel a date of five years is given. At the expiration of the allotted time, the signs appear as prophesied. In this context the narrative explains: (1) that "father Lehi ... Nephi ... almost all of our fathers ... have testified of the coming of Christ" (Hel. 8:22); and (2) that the year Jesus was born "was six hundred years from the time that Lehi left Jerusalem" (3 Ne. 1:1).

Passages such as these paved the way for the next stage of thematic development. What started as an editorial remark that 600 years had elapsed is transformed into a literal prophecy from the lips of Lehi, Nephi, an angel, and unidentified prophets. These prophecies were not dictated until the 600-year date had been firmly established in 3 Nephi.[26]

CHRIST'S VISIT TO AMERICA

The date of Jesus' birth is not the only early prediction unknown to prophets in the middle portion of the Book of Mormon. Edwin J. Firmage (1992) points to Nephite prophecies concerning Christ's appearance in the Americas as another example of this phenomenon. With specificity unprecedented in ancient literature Nephi tells of being enraptured in a panoramic vision of the life of Jesus. He sees Jesus' birth to a virgin (1 Ne. 11:13ff), the appearance of the baptizer John, Jesus' baptism (v. 27), twelve special followers (v. 29), Jesus' miracles (v. 31), and his crucifixion (v. 33). Nephi knows that the Messiah will be called Jesus Christ (12:18 [*O, P,* 1830 ed.]; cf. 2 Ne. 25:19; that he will be crucified and rise after three days [v. 13; 1 Ne. 19:10]). Nephi views the natural cataclysms immediately preceding the coming of the resurrected Christ to America. He sees Jesus' visit to the survivors and his selection of twelve disciples (1 Ne. 12:4-8; cf. 2 Ne. 26:1, 9; 32:6).

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26. The apologetic that Alma's ignorance was because he was unfamiliar with the small plates (Tvedtnes 1991, 198-99) is contradicted by other traditionalist apologia (including Tvedtnes's: "I suggest that [Mormon's] reason for searching through the records was to locate the *small plates* he had found *mentioned on the large plates*" [1991, 201; emphasis added]; see also Norwood 1991, 163; Welch 1992d, 21-22). Alma's declaration, "*methought I saw,* even as our father Lehi saw, *God sitting upon his throne, surrounded with numberless concourses of angels, in the attitude of singing and praising their God*" (Alma 36:22; emphasis added), parallels almost verbatim the account of Lehi's vision in the small plates, "[Lehi] saw the heavens open, and *he thought he saw God sitting upon his throne, surrounded with numberless concourses of angels in the attitude of singing and praising their God*" (1 Ne. 1:8; emphasis added). A case can be made from a traditionalist perspective that Alma is quoting the small plates. From a critical viewpoint it can be maintained that 1 Nephi 1:8 quotes Alma 36:22.

In the early part of Mormon's abridged history, prophecies about the coming of Jesus say nothing about his resurrection advent in the Americas (see Mosiah 3:5ff; 7:27; 15; Alma 4:13; 5:50; 6:8; 7:7ff). Benjamin, Abinadi, both Almas—all of whom know minute details of Jesus' life—never mention that a glorified Christ will appear to the Lehites (see Mosiah 3:1ff; 15:1-16:15; 18:1-35; Alma 7:7-14). Not until Alma 16:20 is this clearly stated: "Many of the people did inquire concerning the place where the Son of God should come; *and they were taught that he would appear unto them after his resurrection*" (emphasis added). The people's uncertainty, which Alma himself shares (7:8), implies that nothing had been taught about a promise that Christ would visit America, a promise Nephi earlier described in detail. When, for the first time in Mormon's abridgment, priests teach the Nephites "that he would appear unto them after his resurrection"—absent any reference to Nephi's prodigious vision—"the people did hear with great joy and gladness," seemingly acknowledging the newness of the idea.

Ignorance of Nephi's prophecies, especially in a record-keeper and prophet of Alma's stature, is explained by Mosian priority. Silence about Nephi's prophecies in Mosiah and Alma 1-16 reflects the fact that Joseph Smith initially portrayed Book of Mormon characters as gradually understanding whether the mortal Jesus (Alma 7:8) or the risen Christ (16:20) would appear in the Americas. Nephi's unambiguous prophecies were dictated by Smith after the events they were intended to foretell—a textbook example of *vaticinium ex eventu* (prophecy after the event).

When Jesus eventually visits Book of Mormon people, they are surprised (cf. Brown and Tvedtnes 1989). They hear a "small voice" which moves and bewilders them (3 Ne 11:3-4). The voice declares three times, "Behold my Beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased, in whom I have glorified my name—hear ye him," but still they fail to understand. As a man clad in white descends, these Christians "*wist not what it meant*, for they thought it was an angel that had appeared unto them" (vv. 6-8; emphasis added). Had they known Nephi's prediction that Jesus would appear after the signs of his death, surprise would have been replaced with expectation. Thanks to Samuel the people anticipated the signs accompanying Jesus' death and had been told of his eventual post-resurrection visit, but they had no reason to expect his coming in such close proximity to the signs (Hel. 14:20-29). That his coming to America would be near the time of his death was incorporated into the final stage of dictation, reflected in 1 Nephi (12:4-6: 19:10).

PENITENT TO CHRISTOCENTRIC BAPTISM

The dictation sequence interferes with the observation I have previously alluded to that Joseph Smith depicted Christian awareness in

the Book of Mormon as gradually maturing. Ideas on baptism, for example, develop according to the Mosian dictation sequence. Alma's baptism appears to be a more primitive cleansing ritual than that described in 2 Nephi (cf. Mosiah 18 with 2 Ne. 31; see also Ostler 1987, 80). In Mormon's abridgment from Mosiah to 3 Nephi 10, baptism helps to effectuate repentance; from 3 Nephi 11 through the dictation of the replacement text, the emphasis is on Jesus Christ (cf. Sperry 1968, 525-27; Vogel 1988, 124n37):

Penitent Baptism		*Christocentric Baptism*	
Mosiah	26:22		
Alma	5:62; 6:2; 7:14; 8:10; 9:27; 48:19; 49:30		
Hel.	3:24; 5:17, 19		
3 Ne.	1:23; 7:26		
		3 Ne.	11:23, 27, 37, 38; 18:5, 11, 16, 30; 21:6; 26:17, 21; 27:1, 16, 20; 30:2
		4 Ne.	1:1
		Morm.	7:8
		Ether	4:18
		Moro.	7:34
Moro.	8:11		
		2 Ne.	9:23-24; 31:11-12
		[Moses]	[8:24]

Baptism in the Book of Mosiah is portrayed as a novelty. Alma introduces it to his converts (Mosiah 18; cf. Peterson 1991, 200-202; Turner 1988, 120n7), and churches crop up as a result of his missionary activity. God reveals that believers are "baptized unto repentance. And whomsoever ye receive shall believe in my name; and him will I freely forgive" (Mosiah 26:22; cf. Turner 1988, 105ff, 122n16). This notion forms the nucleus of baptismal theology until the appearance of the resurrected Christ. Christians are then enjoined to perform the initiatory rite in Christ's name,[27] an idea virtually absent from Mosiah

27. Smith understood the use of Christ's name in the baptismal rite to refer to the Matthean triadic formula (i.e., Father, Son, and Holy Ghost; Matt. 28:19; 3 Ne. 11:25; cf., v. 27). He propelled this notion back further in time as his dictation progressed (see 2 Ne. 31:21). Later when he was dictating the JSR, he incorporated the triadic formula into the preaching of antediluvian prophet Enoch who stipulates, "And [the Lord] ... gave unto

through 3 Nephi 10.[28] As the dictation continues, Book of Mormon characters increasingly focus on Christ's importance. In the first part of the Book of Mormon—the last portion dictated—Nephi's younger sibling Jacob recommends that "all men ... must repent, and be baptized in [God's; i.e., Jesus'] name" (2 Ne. 9:23). Nephi discloses that "the Father said: Repent ye, repent ye, and be baptized in the name of my Beloved Son" (31:11). After the Book of Mormon was published, Joseph Smith issued a sermon by the prophet Noah, reflecting a christocentric baptismal covenant, "Believe and repent of your sins and be baptized in the name of Jesus Christ" (Moses 8:24).[29]

The Book of Mormon followed the evolving baptismal model of the KJV. Like Alma (Mosiah 26:22), John the baptizer performed primitive baptism "unto repentance" (Matt. 3:11; cf. Mark 1:4; Luke 3:3; Acts 13:24; 19:4). After Jesus' death, Christians baptized "in the name of the Lord Jesus" (Acts 8:16; cf. 10:48; 19:5; Rom. 6:3; 1 Cor. 1:10ff); so do their Nephite counterparts following the resurrection (3 Ne. 26:17). Jesus instructs the Nephites that baptizing in his name meant "in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost" (11:25; cf. vv. 22-41), echoing his instructions to his Old World apostles to baptize "in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost" (Matt. 28:19).

The contrast between the two baptisms is lucidly portrayed in Paul's inquiry, "Unto what then were ye baptized? And they said, Unto John's baptism. Then said Paul, *John verily baptized with the baptism of repentance*, saying unto the people, that they should believe on him which should come after him, that is, on Christ Jesus. When they heard this, they were *baptized in the name of the Lord Jesus*" (Acts 19:3-5; emphasis added).[30] Prior to the resurrection, Nephites received John's (Alma's) baptism stressing repentance. Subsequently they were initi-

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me a commandment that I should baptize in the name of the Father, and of the Son, which is full of grace and truth, and of the Holy Ghost, which beareth record of the Father and the Son" (Moses 7:11).

28. The sole exception is in Alma's injunction to be "baptized in the name of the Lord" (Mosiah 18:10). The phrase is borrowed from the KJV where Peter insists that his audience be "baptized in the name of the Lord" (Acts 10:48). Alma's use of the phrase is misplaced since his subsequent baptisms are performed in no one's name.

29. "Unto repentance" forms part of the anti-infant baptism rhetoric in Moroni 8:11, and an early revelation depicted Sidney Rigdon's Campbellite baptisms as "unto repentance" (D&C 35:5).

30. I am not convinced there is a "striking parallel" between Alma's baptism and the Qumran community's cleansing rites (Ostler 1987, 80). Not only is the Book of Mormon baptismal model based on the New Testament but the precise terminology is also. It seems to be based on an uncritical reading of the Christian scriptures not on an appreciation of the complexity of early baptismal covenants (see Beasley-Murray 1962).

ated with the baptism of the apostles (disciples), which centered on Christ—a notion of baptism shared by Jacob and Nephi, Moses and Enoch (in the JSR), all dictated after the Mosiah narrative.

Arthur Glen Foster, Jr., (1983, 58-60) argued that Alma introduced baptism into Nephite religious practice. He sees a logical development which begins with Benjamin's covenant (Mosiah 5:5; 6:2), continues with Alma's baptism at the waters of Mormon (18:10ff), and concludes with Alma's establishing a Nephite church (26:17, 22).

This hypothesis is indirectly confirmed by the silence on baptism in king Benjamin's oration (Mosiah 2-6). At the invitation of king Benjamin, the populace attends the Nephite equivalent of a nineteenth-century camp meeting.[31] Benjamin describes the method of salvation (4:4-8), the process of repenting and obtaining remission of sin (vv. 10-26), the imperative act of being born again (5:7), and the need to covenant with and take upon themselves the name of Christ (vv. 8-15).

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31. It is difficult to speak meaningfully about Benjamin's convocation in non-revivalistic terms since the apex of the narrative—the Christian conversion of the Nephites—depends so fundamentally on a non-biblical pattern contemporary with Smith: (1) Revival Gathering (Mosiah 2); (2) Guilt-Ridden Falling Exercise (4:1-2a); (3) Petition for Spiritual Emancipation (v. 2b); and (4) Christological Absolution and Emotional Ecstasy (v. 3). Itinerant preacher George Lane penned a vivid account of an ecstatic conversion commensurate with the pattern in Mosiah. Lucy Stoddard, Lane wrote, (1) attended a "prayer meeting" where she had the (2) "great deep of her heart ... broken up; she saw clearly that she was a child of wrath, and in danger of hell. With this view of her sad condition, she fell prostrate at the feet of her offended sovereign, [3] and in bitterest anguish cried for mercy. [4] In this situation, however, she was not suffered long to continue before she obtained a most satisfactory evidence of her acceptance with God through the merits of Jesus Christ. Her soul was unspeakably happy, and with great emphasis she exhorted others to come and share with her the inestimable blessing" (1825, 159).

The ubiquity of this frontier revivalistic pattern is illustrated in a poem designed to depict a typical "[1] description of a camp-meeting scene:—/ [2] 'Crush'd beneath the weight of love/ The trembling sinner prostrate falls;/ [3] Implores the mercy from above,/ And loudly on compassion calls;/ [4] Jesus in pity stoops to hear,/ And wipes away contrition's tear" (J. Porter 1849, 37).

Some have attempted to assert comparisons between Lehite religious awakenings and ancient Hebrew rituals (see Welch 1985b, 28-31) including ancient prophets collapsing to the ground (Ezek. 3:23) or expressing feelings of inferiority (Isa. 6:5-7). Some maintain that the Mosiah story is a Nephite *Sukkot*—covenant renewal festival—or coronation rite (Nibley 1988, 295-310; Ostler 1987, 87-93; Ricks 1984a; 1991; Tvedtnes 1990, 197-237; Welch 1985a, 37-53). Certainly nineteenth-century camp meetings were modeled after the Israelite Feast of Tabernacles. This enabled Lorenzo Dow to write that the ancient Hebrews met for devotional services at "the Camp Meeting, or feast of tabernacles" (1854, 248). A Unitarian journalist similarly summarized Methodist apologetics for camp meetings including the defense that "the feast of Tabernacles was celebrated in tents" (*Christian Register*, 24 Sept. 1831; see also J. Porter 1849, 13-23). In any event, traditionalists have not demonstrated that neophytes of any culture B.C.E. experienced the form of revival conversion described in the Book of Mormon, a conversion which culminated in forgiveness of sin through Jesus Christ's atoning blood.

Converts do as he tells them (6:1-2), but baptism is never mentioned. Universal baptism is urged by Jacob (2 Ne. 9:23) and Nephi (31:9) in the replacement text approximately 400 years before the ritual emerges among Lehite descendants. This is a logical development only if one considers a chronology of dictation and authorship which begins with Mosiah.

DENOMINATIONALISM AND ESCHATOLOGY

If knowledge of Christ's mission and of baptism develop according to a pattern which follows Mosian priority, so do notions about Christ's church among the Nephites and its relationship to the larger world. When Christ comes to the Nephites the event marks a major shift in a complex of related beliefs. Again the replacement text (especially 1 Nephi and 2 Nephi) has more in common with books dated from Christ's advent (3 Nephi, for example) than it does with the central section (Mosiah and Alma).

The first reference to "church" in Mormon's abridgment occurs in conjunction with Alma's baptizing (Mosiah 18:17; cf. Mosiah 23:16; 29:47; 3 Ne. 5:12). From here through the beginning of 3 Nephi, the terms "church" and "churches" refer to the single religion of God and its local congregations.[32] When the glorified Jesus appears, he preaches a developed anti-denominationalism and clarifies the relationship between true Christianity and infidel imitations (3 Ne. 27:2). After Christ's sermon the terms "church" and "churches" describe non-Christian or apostate denominations as well as Christian congregations. The application of the terms to either Christian or apostate churches not only predominates in the sections written after Christ's coming but also in the replacement text in 1 Nephi and 2 Nephi. This is evident from charting the shift from "churches" referring to legitimate Christianity exclusively to a more inclusive denominational definition:

"Churches" (congregations)	*"Churches" (denominations)*
Mosiah 25:19, 21-23; 27:3	
Alma 23:4; 45:22-23	
	4 Ne. 1:26-27, 34, 41
	Morm. 8:28, 32-33, 36, 37
	1 Ne. 3:5, 26; 14:10; 22:23
	2 Ne. 26:20-21; 28:3, 12

Because no formal church exists in the replacement text, most oc-

32. A rare exception is Nehor's universalist "church" (Alma 1:6; cf. Vogel, in this compilation).

currences of "church" or "churches" in 1 Nephi and 2 Nephi appear in context of prophetic eschatology as in Moroni's first valedictory (Morm. 8:28ff): in the last days gentile society will be characterized by a variety of churches. Thus the shift from "church{es}" referring to a single religion to multiple religions corresponds with a shift from complete Nephite ethnocentrism to a more global perspective. This perspective includes an increased focus on non-Israelite races as well as on the relationship of Lehite descendants to Jews. Thus gentiles and Jews are mentioned in portions of the record involving Christ's appearance, later Nephite prophets, and the replacement text. Usage of "gentile{s}," for instance, in Mosian priority occurs 35 times in 3 Nephi, 10 in Mormon, 11 in Ether, 3 in the Title Page, 56 in 1 Nephi, and 31 in 2 Nephi. The ethnocentric Nephite view, with "church{es}" applying only to the Nephite church, gives way to a global view which considers how future Lehites fit into the larger Israelite context (emphasis on Jews) and the larger world context (emphasis on gentiles).

FROM THREE WITNESSES TO MANY WITNESSES

Although I do not accept that Ether 5:2-4 or 2 Nephi 27:12-14 led directly to three witnesses viewing the Book of Mormon plates (see above), both texts help to elucidate the dictation sequence. When placed in Mosian priority order, the narrative shifts incrementally on the number of witnesses from three to many. The earliest extant reference to three witnesses is D&C 5, dated March 1829. A version of this revelation predating its publication reads, "yea & the testimony of *three* of my servants shall go forth with my word unto this Generation yea *three* shall know of A surety that these things are true for I will give them power that they may Behold & view these things as they are & to *none else* will I grant this power among this Generation & the testimony of *three* Witnesses will I send forth & my word" (Whitney MS, n.d.; emphasis added; cf. D&C 5:11-15). According to this revelation only three people, implicitly including Smith, would see the plates. A revelation given in early April 1829 obliquely referred to "the mouth of *two* or *three* witnesses, [by which] shall every word be established" (BoC V:12b; emphasis added; cf. D&C 6:28b).

In Mosian priority the next identification of three witnesses is Ether: "And behold, *ye* may be privileged that *ye* may show the plates unto *those who shall assist to bring forth this work;* And unto *three* shall they be shown by the power of God; wherefore they shall know of a surety that these things are true. And in the mouth of *three* witnesses shall these things be established; and the testimony of *three,* and this work, in the which shall be shown forth the power of God and also his word" (5:2-4a; emphasis added). These verses address "ye," a vague

reference to a modern person who would display the plates before three other witnesses.[33]

2 Nephi embellished the theme in Ether, paving the way for three witnesses plus an additional eight. In a generic treatment of witnesses, Nephi remarks that "by the words of *three*, God hath said, I will establish my word. Nevertheless, God sendeth *more* witnesses" (11:3b; emphasis added). This notion is given specific attention in Smith's midrash of Isaiah 29 in 2 Nephi 27. Readers are told that "the eyes of none shall behold it save it be that *three* witnesses shall behold it, by the power of God, *besides him to whom the book shall be delivered*; and they shall testify to the truth of the book and the things therein. And there is none other which shall view it, *save it be a few* according to the will of God ... Wherefore, the Lord God will proceed to bring forth the words of the book; and in the mouth of *as many witnesses as seemeth him good* will he establish his word" (vv. 12b-14a; emphasis added; cf. JSR Isa. 29:17b-19a). Now three witnesses plus Smith see the plates or "book," with the proviso that "a few" more will have a similar experience. In fact, the text notes that ultimately there will be as many witnesses as God chooses.

Proliferating witnesses in Ether 5 and 2 Nephi 27 contrast with Smith's March 1829 revelation designating "three" and "*none* else." A remedy occurred when the revelation was edited for publication in 1833 and again in 1835 (see Fig. 5; also Best 1992, 93-94; Howard 1982). The phrase "to none else will I grant this power" was qualified with "to receive this same testimony" (BoC IV:4). This revision allowed for others to view the plates, though in a qualitatively distinct way from the select three. A clear stipulation that the "testimony of three" was "in addition to [Joseph Smith's] testimony" was also appended in the 1835 D&C (32:3), and the three witnesses' declaration was distinguished by adding that from "heaven will [God] declare it unto them."

Thus a coherent picture of an evolving view of witnesses to the Book of Mormon emerges when revelations and revisions are interleaved with relevant Book of Mormon passages ordered to a Mosian dictation sequence. Texts treating witnesses to gold plates evolve from three solitary attestants (Whitney MS. n.d.; see also BoC V:12; cf. D&C 6:28) to three plus "ye" (Ether 5:2-4) to three plus one and an unlimited number (2 Ne. 27:12-14; cf. 11:3; BoC IV:4; 1835 D&C 32:3).

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33. When Welch and Rathbone write that "Ether 5 ... only expressly states that 'unto three,' i.e. a total of three, 'shall they be shown'" which they contrast to 2 Nephi's declaration of three "*besides* him to whom the book shall be delivered" (1986, 27-28n90; cf., 34), they miss the instructions in Ether 5:1-4 for a fourth "ye" who would exhibit the plates before an additional three.

Figure 5.

Whitney MS	1833 BoC IV:4b	1835 D&C 32:3b
yea	*yea*	
&	and	and
		in addition to
		your testimony
the testimony of three of	the testimony of three of	the testimony of three of
my servants	my servants	my servants,
		whom I shall call and
		ordain, unto whom I
		will show these things:
		and they
shall go forth with my	shall go forth with my	shall go forth with my
word	words	words
unto this Generation	*unto this generation;*	
		that are given
		through you,
yea	yea,	yea,
three	*three*	
		they
shall know of A	shall know of a	shall know of a
surety that these	surety that these	surety that these
things are true for	things are true, for	things are true: for
		from heaven will I
		declare it unto them:
I will give them power	I will give them power,	I will give them power
that they may Behold	that they may behold	that they may behold
& view these things as	and view these things as	and view these things as
they are & to none else	they are, and to none else	they are; and to none else
will I grant this power	will I grant this power,	will I grant this power,
	to receive this same	to receive this same
	testimony	testimony,
among this	among this	among this
Generation	generation.	generation …

MALACHI AMONG THE NEPHITES

The impulse to include certain KJV passages in the Book of Mormon also evolves gradually when the books are ordered beginning with Mosiah (see also Ashment, in this compilation). Although Nephite scribes lament the arduous process of inscribing on metal (e.g., Jacob 4:1ff; Ether 12:24), the risen Christ nonetheless instructs that

Malachi 3-4 should be incorporated onto the plates (3 Ne. 24-25). Christ explains, "These scriptures, which ye had not with you, the Father commanded that I should give unto you; for it is wisdom in him that they should be given unto future generations" (26:2).

Malachi wrote, "For, behold, the day cometh, that shall burn as an oven; and all the proud, yea, and all that do wickedly, shall be stubble; and the day that cometh shall burn them up, saith the LORD of hosts" (Mal. 4:1//3 Ne. 25:1). Curiously, the first book of the Book of Mormon, 1 Nephi, attributes this passage from Malachi to an unnamed prophet: "For behold, saith the prophet, ... the day soon cometh that all the proud and they who do wickedly shall be as stubble; and the day cometh that they must be burned" (1 Ne. 22:15 [,17]). Indeed the degenerate "must be consumed as stubble; and this according to the words of the prophet" (v. 23). Nephi later reiterates, "all those who are proud, and that do wickedly, the day cometh shall burn them up, saith the Lord of Hosts, for they shall be as stubble" (2 Ne. 26:4). According to Nephi, "the fire of the anger of the Lord shall be kindled against them, and they shall be as stubble, and the day that cometh shall consume them, saith the Lord of Hosts" (v. 6). Nephi's explicit references to "the prophet's" insights from Malachi 4:1 contradict Christ's assertion that he was delivering to Nephites previously inaccessible writings.[34]

Moroni reports that virtuous Jaredite king Emer "saw the Son of Righteousness" (Ether 9:22), an epithet from Malachi (4:2a) used by Smith's contemporaries to refer to Jesus Christ (e.g., *Methodist Magazine*, Mar. 1823, 118; cf. "Sun of Truth" in *Methodist Magazine*, Jan. 1823, 1). A crucified Jesus "shall rise from the dead," Nephi foretells, "with healing in his wings" (2 Ne. 25:13//Mal. 4:2a). Following the New World calamities, a portent of the Nephite christophany, Nephi declares that "the Son of Righteousness shall appear unto them; and he shall heal them" (2 Ne. 26:9).[35]

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34. Jesus explicitly tells the Nephites the words are Malachi's (3 Ne. 24:1). When Moroni visited Joseph Smith he quoted Malachi 4:1 with some variation, "For behold, the day cometh that shall burn as an oven, and all the proud, yea, and all that do wickedly shall *burn as* stubble; *for they that come* shall burn them, saith the Lord of Hosts" (JS-H 1:37; Smith et al. 1978, 1:12; note the phrase "*as* stubble" in Moroni's version does not occur in KJV Malachi 4:1 but is used consistently by Nephi [1 Ne. 22:15, 23; 2 Ne. 26:4, 6] and is generally favored by Smith [D&C 29:9; 64:24]. The JSR manuscripts for Malachi pronounce the KJV "correct" coinciding with the replication of KJV Malachi 4:1 in D&C 133:64). Moroni's rendition differs from 3 Nephi, the JSR, and D&C 133:64, and all differ from "the prophet" cited in 1 Nephi. If Malachi was quoting a preexilic oracle also known to Nephi or Moroni (Tvedtnes 1992, 222-23) one wonders why Jesus would not have delivered to his Nephite audience the pristine original rather than Malachi's secondary version.

35. Cf. "ye shall go forth, and grow up as calves of the stall" (Mal. 4:2b//3 Ne. 25:2b) with

Mosiah through 3 Nephi 23 betrays no knowledge of Malachi 3-4. Subsequent to Jesus' 3 Nephi recital of Malachi's prophecies, as the dictation proceeded, Malachi's language is appropriated by other Book of Mormon prophets in Ether, 1 Nephi, and 2 Nephi.

Some Book of Mormon students argue that narrative patterns similar to the above can be explained by acknowledging the intervention of Nephite redactors Mormon and Moroni. Interpreters could thus hypothesize that post-Christ-advent Nephite editors embellished the replacement text with high christology or projected later prophecies back on their progenitors (cf. Epperson 1988, 80, 94-96, 98-99; Jorgensen 1981, passim; Ostler 1987, 86-87).[36]

Such a theory can only be maintained at the expense of the redactors' integrity. Mormon expressly states that the sole reason for inclusion of 1 Nephi-Omni was because they contained "pleasing ... prophecies of the coming of Christ" (W of M 1:4[ff]). In this context, could the christological prophecies be the creation of Mormon? Also, why would Mormon or Moroni have inserted later, more developed elements into the narrative in some cases but neglected to do so in the homilies of Benjamin, Mosiah, Abinadi, and both Almas? And why would such inconsistencies of ancient redactors be so easily explained by Smith's dictation sequence?[37]

A MESSIAH NAMED CHRIST

Apologists point to certain notions in the Book of Mormon which seem to develop according to the world of an ancient narrative. The shift in designation of "Messiah" to "Christ" develops in an expected linear way as if the book were a product of individuals who increased in understanding (Welch 1992c, 239-40, and passim). Jesus is referred to as "Messiah" in the early years of Lehite colonization. Between 1 Nephi and Jarom, the prophet-writers use the designation "Messiah" some thirty times. According to the present edition of the Book of Mor-

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"And the time cometh speedily ["the day cometh" (Mal. 4:1//3 Ne. 25:1)] that the righteous must be led up as calves of the stall" (1 Ne. 22:24); cf. Mal. 3:1//3 Ne. 24:1 with 1 Ne. 11:27; cf. "Levi" in Mal. 3:3 with Ether 1:20-21; 10:14-15.

36. Pseudepigrapha scholar James H. Charlesworth politely offered a Mormon audience the possibility that Christian Nephite redactors Christianized the Book of Mormon, following with what surely reflects more closely his own sentiments that "Joseph Smith in the nineteenth century had the opportunity to redact the traditions that he claimed to have received" (1978, 125).

37. Researchers could also profit from an examination of Lamanite society from nomadic hunter-gatherers to sedentary city dwellers then back to hunter-gatherers, other prophecies concerning the Advent shared by Nephi and Samuel the Lamanite but unmentioned by interim prophets, bestowal of the Holy Spirit, the rise of ecclesiastical authority, and other themes.

mon the title "Christ" was introduced to the narrative by Nephi's younger sibling Jacob who learns through revelation that God incarnate would be named "Christ" (2 Ne. 10:3). From this passage on, use of "Christ" increases dramatically (over 380 times) while use of "Messiah" decreases. From Omni to Moroni "Messiah" appears only twice (Mosiah 13:33; Hel. 8:13).

Even on the surface this example is problematic. The Book of Mormon's use of the term "Christ" is a perplexing feature of the book. Biblical scholars concur that the Aramaic *meshiha'* (Heb. *mashiah;* Eng. Messiah) and its Greek translation *Christos* (Eng. Christ) both mean "Anointed." They further agree that "Christ" became a proper name along with "Jesus" only after non-Semites, who did not have a Hebrew conception of the title, were converted and an essentially Judaic Christianity began to be hellenized (DeJonge 1992; Fitzmeyer 1982, 85-87; Kittel and Friedrich 1964-76, 9:527-80; Perkins 1985; cf. Robinson 1992, 740; Welch 1992b, 749). In contrast, Book of Mormon Hebrews do not use the terms "Christ" and "Messiah" synonymously. Rather they employ the term "Christ" most frequently as a type of messianic surname.

"Christ" as a proper name poses linguistic problems that challenged early defenders of the Book of Mormon. Oliver Cowdery chided a critic who raised the issue as being "ignorant presumptuous and incompetent to handle the matter he has undertaken." Cowdery argued that "[t]he words Jesus and Christ ... are radically neither English nor Greek, for both have Hebrew roots" (*Messenger and Advocate* 3 [Oct. 1836]: 398). This remains apologists' chief line of defense (see Brown 1984, 35; McConkie and Millet 1987, 265-66; Nibley 1988b, 167-68; Ricks 1984, 25; Welch 1992c, 228, 241n6; cf. McConkie 1988, 75-76).

Yet the Book of Mormon does not accommodate this apologetic since it insists at many points on a clear distinction between "Messiah" and "Christ."[38] The Book of Mormon ostensibly defines "Messiah" as "savior" or "redeemer" (1 Ne. 10:4-5; 1:19; 2 Ne. 1:10; 2:6). "Christ," coupled with the term "Jesus," becomes the Messiah's name (e.g., 2 Ne. 10:3; 25:16, 19; Mosiah 3:8; 5:8).[39] Because of this semantic

38. Jesus' dialogue with the Samaritan women where the text reads, "I know that Messias cometh, which is called Christ" (John 4:25), serves as Hugh Nibley's (1988b, 168) evidence that some ancients differentiated between "Messiah" and "Christ." Differing with Nibley, biblical scholars and translators understand the phrase "which is called Christ" as a gloss by the Johannine author to interpret "Messias" in Greek as in John 1:41 (a representative example is R. Brown 1966, 167, 172; cf. 73, 76).

Even though "Messiah" has Semitic roots, a case can be made linguistically that its application in the Book of Mormon is as anachronistic as occurrences of "Christ."

39. There is the rare occurrence of "Christ" prefaced by a definite article (e.g., "*the* Christ"

distinction, Nephi can prophesy that Jews at the end of time "shall believe in Christ, and worship the Father in his name ... and look not forward any more for another Messiah" (2 Ne. 25:16). And he can also proclaim, "[T]he Messiah cometh ... [and] his name shall be Jesus Christ" (v. 19). "Christ" is even juxtaposed with other proper names such as "Nephi" and "Moses."[40]

The narrative itself seems to account for this distinction between "Messiah" and "Christ" when an angel reveals to the prophet Jacob the name by which the Messiah will be called: "Wherefore, as I said unto you, it must needs be expedient that Christ—for in the last night the angel spake unto me that this should be his name—should come among the Jews" (2 Ne. 10:3). Some Book of Mormon students believe this revelation to Jacob was the first disclosure of the Messiah's name as "Christ" among the Lehites (see Black 1987, 16, 19; Brandt 1989, 202; Brown 1984, 35-36; Conkling 1992, 10; Jackson 1988, 95; Matthews 1988, 33; Millet 1987, 116, 129n10; Ostler 1987, 83; cf. Welch 1992c, 227-28, 241n6). This implies that "Christ" was actually the term used by ancient Book of Mormon writers and that knowledge of this term originated from a divine revelation identifying the future Greek nomenclature for the Hebrew Messiah. Accordingly "Christ" should not be viewed as anachronistic because it is prophetic (cf. Welch 1992a, 204; 1992b, 749; 1992c, 239).[41]

Textual analysis exposes difficulties with this explanation. In *O*, *P*, and the 1830 edition the complete phrase "Jesus Christ" is revealed to Nephi years preceding Jacob's revelation of "Christ." "Jesus Christ" originally appeared in 1 Nephi 12:18 and was only later changed to "Mosiah" (P^c) and then "the Messiah" in the 1837 printing (see Illustration 2; also FARMS 1987, 1:60; Holland 1966, 53; Larson 1974, 49-50):

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in Jacob 7:17, 19). This form follows New Testament wording ("the Christ"; e.g., Matt. 16:16; 26:63).

40. For example, "name of Nephi" is paralleled with "name of Christ" (Mosiah 25:12, 23). "[C]alled in my name" (i.e., "the church of Christ," 3 Ne. 26:21; 27:5) is juxtaposed to "called in Moses' name" (27:8).

41. Welch's position is confusing given his remark that "Jacob introduced the word *Christ* (or its Hebrew equivalent) into broad Nephite usage" (1992c, 228). By "Hebrew equivalent" does Welch mean "Messiah"? If so, then the "name" clearly did not originate with Jacob since "Messiah" appears numerous times prior to the disclosure in 2 Nephi 10:3 (see 1 Ne. 1:19; 10:4-5, 7, 9-11, 14, 17; 15:13; 2 Ne. 1:10; 2:6, 8, 26; 3:5; 6:13-14). If not, then what other "Hebrew equivalent" for the Greek *Christos* does Welch have in mind? Welch elsewhere (1992b, 749) clearly articulates his belief that "Messiah" and "Christ" are Hebrew and Greek equivalents.

Textual History of 1 Nephi 12:18b

Initial Version

Original MS	Printer's MS	1830 Ed.
the sword of <the> Justice of the Eternal God & Jesus Christ which is the lamb of God[42]	the word of the Justice of the Eternal God & Jesus Christ which is the Lamb of God	the word of the justice of the Eternal God, and Jesus Christ, which is the Lamb of God

Emended Variant

Printer's (Corrected) MS	1837 Ed.
the word of the Justice of the Eternal God & ~~Jesus Christ which~~ <Mosiah who> is the Lamb of God[43]	the word of the justice of the eternal God, and the Messiah who is the Lamb of God

Originally the revelation of "Christ" to Jacob was redundant,[44] since "Jesus Christ" had already been revealed to Nephi. Yet Jacob affirms unfamiliarity with the term "Christ" prior to his epiphany, "for in the last night the angel spake unto me that this should be his name"

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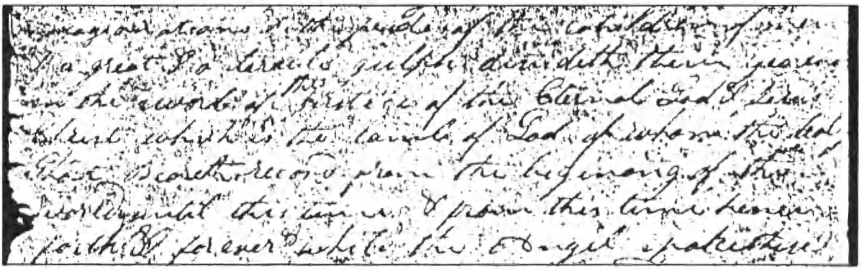
42. FARMS (1987, 1:60) fails to show the correct reading for *O*, having "word" instead of "sword." Cf. "the sword of the justice of the Eternal God," in Ether 8:23b (see also Alma 26:19, 60:29; Hel. 13:5; 3 Ne. 20:20; 29:4; cf. BoC IV:6). The unique wording shared by Nephi's angel (1 Ne. 12:18, *O*) and Moroni (Ether 8:23), separated by a millennium in antiquity, was dictated within a few weeks in Mosian priority.

43. JSR Genesis 7:59 (Moses 7:53) incorporates "Messiah." JSR Old Testament manuscript 2 (*OTms.2*) reads "Massiah" without a definite article like P^c, while Old Testament manuscript 3 (*OTms.3*) has "M*a*siah," a spelling close to "M*o*siah" in P^c, but it is preceded by "the."

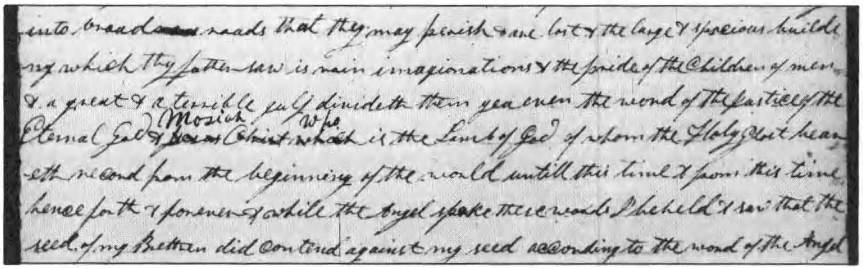
44. Jacob claims divine insight for a number of ideas that were accessible through his father Lehi and elder sibling Nephi: the Babylonian captivity (2 Ne. 6:8; cf. 1:4); Israel's Babylonian emancipation (2 Ne. 6:9; cf. 1 Ne. 10:3); Israel's Christian conversion and final gathering (2 Ne. 6:11; cf. 1 Ne. 22:11-12). These passages differ from 2 Nephi 10:3 because they lack a qualifying phrase, underscoring the uniqueness of Jacob's declaration (i.e., "for in the last night the angel spake unto me that this should be his name").

It is possible that a similar development from "Messiah" to "Christ" existed in the Book of Lehi, and that the phrase "Jesus Christ" was first introduced by king Benjamin (Mosiah 3:8; cf., Millet 1988, 55). But if Benjamin's revelation was to disclose the Messiah's "name" for the first time, not only is it contradicted by the replacement text but also by Mormon's abridgment. Abinadi, whose sermons come after Benjamin's in Smith's dictation sequence but were said to have been delivered approximately twenty-four years prior to the king's farewell, speaks of "the resurrection of Christ—for so shall be his name" (Mosiah 15:21; Tanner and Tanner [1990, 63-71] delineate some of the complexities of this discussion).

Illustration 2.



Original Manuscript, 1 Nephi 12:18b
"the sword of <the> Justice of the Eternal God & Jesus Christ
which is the lamb of God"



Printer's (Corrected) Manuscript, 1 Nephi 12:18b
"the word of the Justice of the Eternal God & ~~Jesus Christ which~~
<Mosiah who> is the Lamb of God"

(All photographs of the Printer's Manuscript were reproduced courtesy Library-Archives, Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, The Auditorium, Independence, Missouri. Reproductions by RLDS Office of Graphic Arts. The reproduction of the Original Manuscript is from Larson 1974, 313.)

(2 Ne. 10:3b).[45] Emending "Jesus Christ" to "Mosiah" ("the Messiah" 1837 ed.) in 1 Nephi 12:18 removed this obstacle for Jacob's new revelation in 2 Nephi 10:3, but it inadvertently created another problem. By substituting "Mosiah" ("the Messiah" 1837 ed.) for "Jesus Christ," Smith[46] excised the sole textual antecedent to Nephi's later proclamation that according to "the word of the angel of God, his name shall be Jesus Christ" (2 Ne. 25:19). Jacob's angel only used "Christ" (2 Ne. 10:3); it was Nephi's angel who originally employed the full expression "Jesus Christ" in 1 Nephi 12:18 (*O*, *P*, 1830 ed.).

Much of this confusion stems from Smith's own vacillation about how or if "Christ" was used anciently—an ambivalence which leaves traces in the narrative.[47] For example, the story of the Brother of Jared appears near the end of the Book of Mormon text, after Jacob's vision of the angel and after the actual appearance of Jesus Christ. According to the ancient chronology, however, the Brother of Jared lived long before any of these events. Still the Father and the Son reveals himself to the Brother of Jared as "Jesus Christ" thousands of years prior to the incarnation (Ether 3:14). Even Jacob's proclamation that the angel brought new knowledge contradicts his own later claim that preexilic prophets utilized "Christ" liturgically (Jacob 4:4-5; cf. 6:8).

If preexilic prophets used the term "Christ," one would expect to find the term in their "five books of Moses" (1 Ne. 5:11). Smith's revision of these books would confirm Jacob's claim (in Jacob 4:4-5). In the introductory revelation to the JSR (Moses 1), Moses prays to God in the

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45. Robert L. Millet (1988, 54, 70; in contrast to his earlier judgment, see 1987, 116, 129n10), finding Jacob's remarks cryptic and the reason for Smith's alteration of 1 Nephi 12:18 elusive, retreats to the notion that "Messiah," "Christ," or "Jesus Christ" are reasonable English equivalents for the Christian savior. If this is true, why would Smith bother to emend "Jesus Christ" to "Mosiah" ("the Messiah," 1837 ed.)? The change itself implies a distinction as do similar changes in the JSR.

Welch uncritically dismisses "Jesus Christ" in 1 Nephi 12:18 (*O*, *P*, 1830 ed.) on the basis that Smith was licensed to correct it (1992c, 241n6). From a traditionalist perspective, since Smith's inspiration first led him to dictate "Jesus Christ"—an angelic expression subsequently recalled by Nephi (2 Ne. 25:19)—and given God's personal endorsement of Smith's initial dictation based on its correctness (Smith et al. 1978, 1:55), the emendation should be more in question than the reliability of "Jesus Christ." Moreover, why would God lead Smith to correct this "mistranslation" but fail to have him correct a mistranscription in the same sentence where the *P* scribe miscopied "the *word* of ... the Eternal God" instead of Smith's dictated "the *sword* of ... the Eternal God"?

46. Royal Skousen (1992a) has tentatively identified the interlinear "<Mosiah who>" in P^c as Smith's handwriting. This corrects RLDS historian Richard P. Howard's (1969, 45) supposition that "Mosiah" was mistakenly transcribed by a scribe who misheard Smith verbalize "Messiah." Nevertheless Smith's orthographic error of "Mosiah" may still indicate how Smith pronounced "Messiah."

47. Abinadi queries, "[H]ave [all the prophets] not spoken *more or less* concerning these things?" (Mosiah 13:33; emphasis added).

name of the "Only Begotten" (v. 21). The JSR manuscripts indicate that Smith originally dictated "Jesus Christ" (*OTms.2*; *OTms.3*). This was changed to "the Son of God" (Old Testament manuscript 3, revision [*OTms.3rev.*]) which was then abbreviated to "his Son" (ibid.; note the variant "Only Begotten" of the current edition [Moses 1:21] has no manuscript support). Other occurrences of "Jesus Christ" tended to be deleted, and the phrase was basically dropped as Smith's revisions of the Hebrew Bible progressed.[48] Rather than confirming Jacob's claim, Smith's revisions move in the opposite direction.

In the context of Smith's ambivalence about the use of "Christ" in antiquity, the problems and solutions in 1 Nephi 12:18, 2 Nephi 10:3, and 25:19 must be tied to Smith not to an ancient narrative. Smith's continued uncertainty about "Messiah" and "Christ" is evident despite efforts to have Nephites evolve in their understanding and use of these terms in 1 Nephi-Omni. Remaining internal contradictions point to an attempt to impose on the replacement text a linear development not inherent in an ancient narrative but explicable in terms of a Mosian priority dictation.

Implications for Book of Mormon Authorship

Smith's loss of the 116 pages is Book of Mormon interpreters' gain. The misplacement, theft, or destruction of the Book of Lehi, eventually leading the despondent prophet to dictate 1 Nephi-Words of Mormon last, unveils an unprecedented glimpse into the formation of a sacred text. Intrinsically woven into the Book of Mormon's fabric are not only remnants of the peculiar dictation sequence but threads of authorship. The composite of those elements explored in this essay point to Smith as the narrative's chief designer.

I suspect that most Book of Mormon students prior to reading this essay considered the dictation sequence relatively insignificant. This essay begins to explore some of the evidences for and implications of Mosian priority. More study will undoubtedly follow,[49] but Mosian

48. While the manuscripts for JSR Genesis 6:53 (Moses 6:52) and JSR Genesis 8:11 (Moses 8:24) retained "Jesus Christ," *OTms.3rev.* removed the phrase "even Jesus Christ" from JSR Genesis 6:60 (Moses 6:57) and JSR Genesis 7:57 (Moses 7:50), though it is retained in published versions of these passages. After these opening chapters "Christ" virtually disappears from the JSR Old Testament (for an exception, see JSR Isa. 29:16 which derives from 2 Ne. 27:11).

49. Other areas of research needing further exploration include the ideational chasm or so-called "black hole" left by the loss of the Book of Lehi; effects of Mosian priority on Book of Mormon internal organization; Words of Mormon functioning as both preface and epilogue; whether Moroni was dictated in May or June 1829; and theological ramifications of the dictation history.

priority is certainly a sound direction for future exegesis.

Antagonists typically condemn Smith as a slavish plagiarist, while apologists exonerate him as an inspired marionette. Both models envision an unimaginative rustic parroting his sources or his God. I accept neither of these reductionist portrayals. The evidence invites a critical reappraisal of Smith's role in the formation of the Book of Mormon. The question is no longer whether Smith influenced the content of the Book of Mormon, but how much.[50] Engaging in the reinterpretive task promises to disclose a charismatic seer who was more than a mere copier or puppet but an imaginative prophetic author.

Appendix: Effects of Literary Dependence on Lexical Distributions

Four additional examples of the lexical shift from "therefore" to "wherefore" illustrate how borrowed material affected the transitional pattern.

Example 1

BoC V//D&C 6	BoC X//D&C 11	BoC XI//D&C 12	BoC XII//D&C 14
2therefore	2therefore	2therefore	2therefore
3therefore	3therefore	3therefore	3therefore
5Therefore	5Therefore	5Therefore	5Therefore
11therefore			
18Therefore			
20therefore			
33therefore			
34Therefore			
	26Therefore		
		9therefore	
			10Wherefore
[April 1829]	[May 1829]	[May 1829]	[June 1829]

Placed chronologically the revelations from April-May 1829 consistently employ "therefore"—the term favored during these two months in a Mosian dictation sequence. Likewise, D&C 14, given during the latter stage of the Book of Mormon dictation in June, repeats "therefore" when quoting from the section 6 preamble but then prefers "wherefore."

50. For a discussion of broader issues relating to historical and authorial concerns, see my essay "An Introduction to Problems of Book of Mormon Historicity" (Metcalfe 1992).

Example 2

1830 Book of Mormon Preface	**BoC IX:3 (D&C 10:14)**
the Lord said unto me, I will not suffer that Satan shall accomplish his evil design in this thing:	Verily I say unto you, that I will not suffer that satan shall accomplish his evil design in this thing …
	BoC IX:10 (D&C 10:41-43)
therefore thou shalt translate	**therefore**, you shall translate
from the plates of Nephi,	the engravings which are on the plates of Nephi, down even till you come to the reign of king Benjamin, or
until ye come to that which ye have translated, which ye have retained; and behold ye shall publish it as the record of Nephi; and thus I will confound those who have altered my words. I will not suffer that they shall destroy my work; yea, I will show unto them that my wisdom is greater than the cunning of the Devil. **Wherefore**, to be obedient to the commandments of God, I have, through his grace and mercy, accomplished that which he hath commanded me respecting this thing.	until you come to that which you have translated, which you have retained; and behold, you shall publish it as the record of Nephi, and thus I will confound those who have altered my words. I will not suffer that they shall destroy my work; yea, I will show unto them that my wisdom is greater than the cunning of the devil.

Authored by Smith, the 1830 Book of Mormon Preface provides important information about the purloined Book of Lehi. In reviewing the dilemma Smith recited verses from D&C 10, retaining "therefore." By the time he wrote the 1830 preface, however, he favored "wherefore," which expectedly begins his first sentence after leaving section 10.

Example 3

KJV Isaiah 29	**2 Nephi 27**	**JSR Isaiah 29**
	[8]Wherefore	[13]Wherefore
	Wherefore	Wherefore
	[12]Wherefore	[17]Wherefore
	[14]Wherefore	[19]Wherefore
12	[19]Wherefore	[22]Wherefore
	[20]wherefore	wherefore
	[22]Wherefore	[24]Wherefore
[13]Wherefore	24	26
[14]Therefore	[26]Therefore	therefore
[22]Therefore	[33]Therefore	[32]Therefore

2 Nephi 27 culminates a lengthy section (2 Ne. 7-8, 12-24) quoting entire chapters from Isaiah but none is as extensively recast in the Book of Mormon as Isaiah 29.[51] When the KJV is inserted verbatim, the Book of Mormon repeats "therefore," the KJV term. But when the text is independent of the KJV it uses "wherefore," the word dominating this stage of the dictation, seven times. In JSR Isaiah 29 these tendencies are confirmed as Book of Mormon and KJV terms are transferred to the JSR.

Example 4

KJV Matthew 5	**3 Nephi 12**	**JSR Matthew 5**
	1therefore	
16	16Therefore	18Therefore
19therefore		21therefore
20	20Therefore	
23Therefore	23Therefore	25therefore
29		32Wherefore
		34wherefore
	46Therefore	
48therefore	48Therefore	50Therefore
KJV Matthew 6	**3 Nephi 13**	**JSR Matthew 6**
2Therefore	2Therefore	2Therefore
8therefore	8therefore	8Therefore
9therefore	9therefore	9Therefore
22therefore	22therefore	22therefore
23therefore	23therefore	23therefore
25Therefore	25Therefore	28Therefore
		30Wherefore
30Wherefore	30Wherefore	34Wherefore
31Therefore	31Therefore	35Therefore
33	33	38Wherefore
34therefore	34therefore	39therefore
KJV Mathhew 7	**3 Nephi 14**	**JSR Matthew 7**
		11wherefore
12Therefore	12Therefore	21Therefore
13	13	22therefore
20Wherefore	20Wherefore	29Wherefore
24Therefore	24Therefore	34Therefore

Literary dependence is even more apparent in parallels among KJV Matthew 5-7, 3 Nephi 12-14, and JSR Matthew 5-7. In 3 Nephi

51. From a traditionalist view, Tvedtnes's (1981, 60ff; contra Sperry 1968, 248-50) suggestion that 2 Nephi 27 is Nephi's midrash of Isaiah 29 is negated by Smith's incorporating these embellishments in JSR Isaiah 29, thus ascribing an Isaian authorship.

when the KJV Sermon on the Mount is incorporated verbatim it consistently retains the word—"therefore" or "wherefore" depending on the verse—used by the KJV translators. But when the KJV is embellished it uniformly uses "therefore"—the term dominant at this point in the dictation.

Extending the analysis to JSR Matthew 5-7 affords a rare glimpse of a multi-tiered example of this stylistic development. When Smith was working on the JSR he was partial to "wherefore" instead of the 3 Nephi "therefore." Accordingly when portions of the KJV were paralleled in 3 Nephi, the identical terms were used from the KJV.[52] Furthermore, KJV narrative not found in 3 Nephi, and 3 Nephi narrative not in the KJV, appear in the JSR with usage unique to the source: "therefore" in KJV Matthew 5:19//JSR Matthew 5:21 and in 3 Nephi 12:16//JSR Matthew 5:18. Significantly, when new interpolations were woven into the Matthean fabric without parallels in the KJV or 3 Nephi "wherefore" was preferred over "therefore" by a ratio of five to one.[53]

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52. An exception is the vacillation in Matthew 6:30 when reproduced in both 3 Nephi and the JSR. 3 Nephi 13:30 in *P* first read "therefore" but was then emended back to the KJV "wherefore" in P^c. There is little doubt that *O*—not extant for this verse—contained the KJV word "wherefore" since both the 1830 edition, which employed *O* as the printer's copy for this portion of the typesetting (Skousen 1992b, 23-24), and P^c agree with the KJV. The published JSR (Smith 1944) indicates that Smith changed "wherefore" in KJV Matthew 6:30 to "therefore" in JSR Matthew 6:34 similar to *P* 3 Nephi. But JSR New Testament manuscript 1 (*NTms.1*) demonstrates that Smith originally dictated "wherefore." I am not suggesting that Smith never deviated from the dictational tendencies examined in this Appendix, but simply that he favored one word over another most of the time.

53. "Wherefore" is a more awkward choice for JSR Matthew 7:22 ("Repent, *therefore*, and enter ye in at the strait gate ...") and was understandably avoided.

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The Book of Mormon must submit to every test, literary criticism with the rest. Indeed, it must submit to every analysis and examination. It must submit to historical tests, to the tests of archaeological research and also to the higher criticism."

B. H. Roberts, president, First Seven Presidents of the Seventy, "Higher Criticism and the Book of Mormon," *The Improvement Era* (1911)

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John A. Widtsoe, Council of the Twelve Apostles, *In Search of Truth: Comments on the Gospel and Modern Thought* (1930)

What if Hebrew prophets, conversant with only a small fraction of the surface of the earth, thinking and writing in terms of their own limited geography and tribal relations, did interpret Him in terms of a tribal king and so limit His personality and the laws of the universe under his control...[T]he inspired man interprets [God]... in the language he knows and in the terms of expression with which his knowledge and experience have made him familiar."

Stephen L Richards, Council of the Twelve Apostles, "An Open Letter to College Students," *The Improvement Era* (1933)

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